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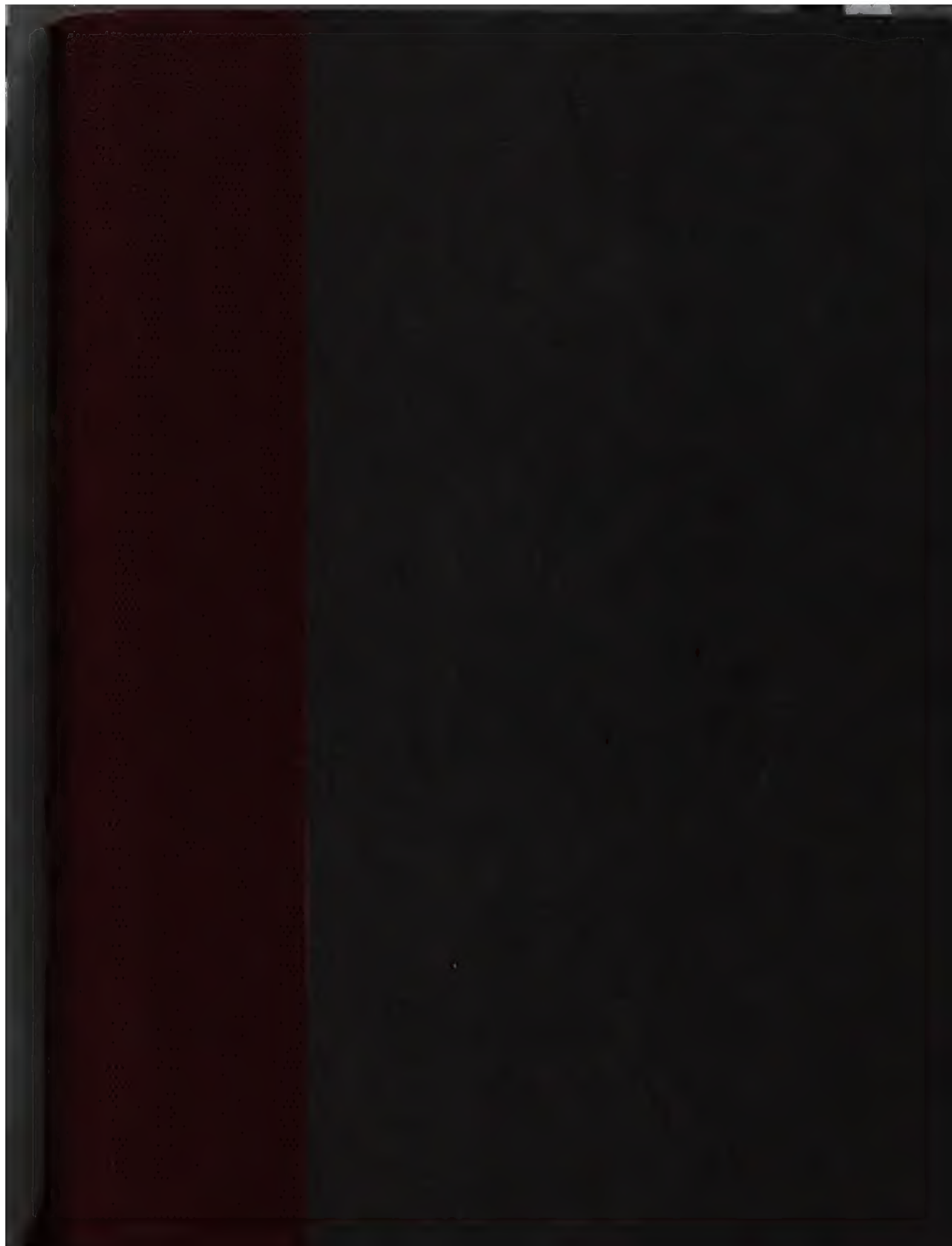
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on War, Revolution, and Peace

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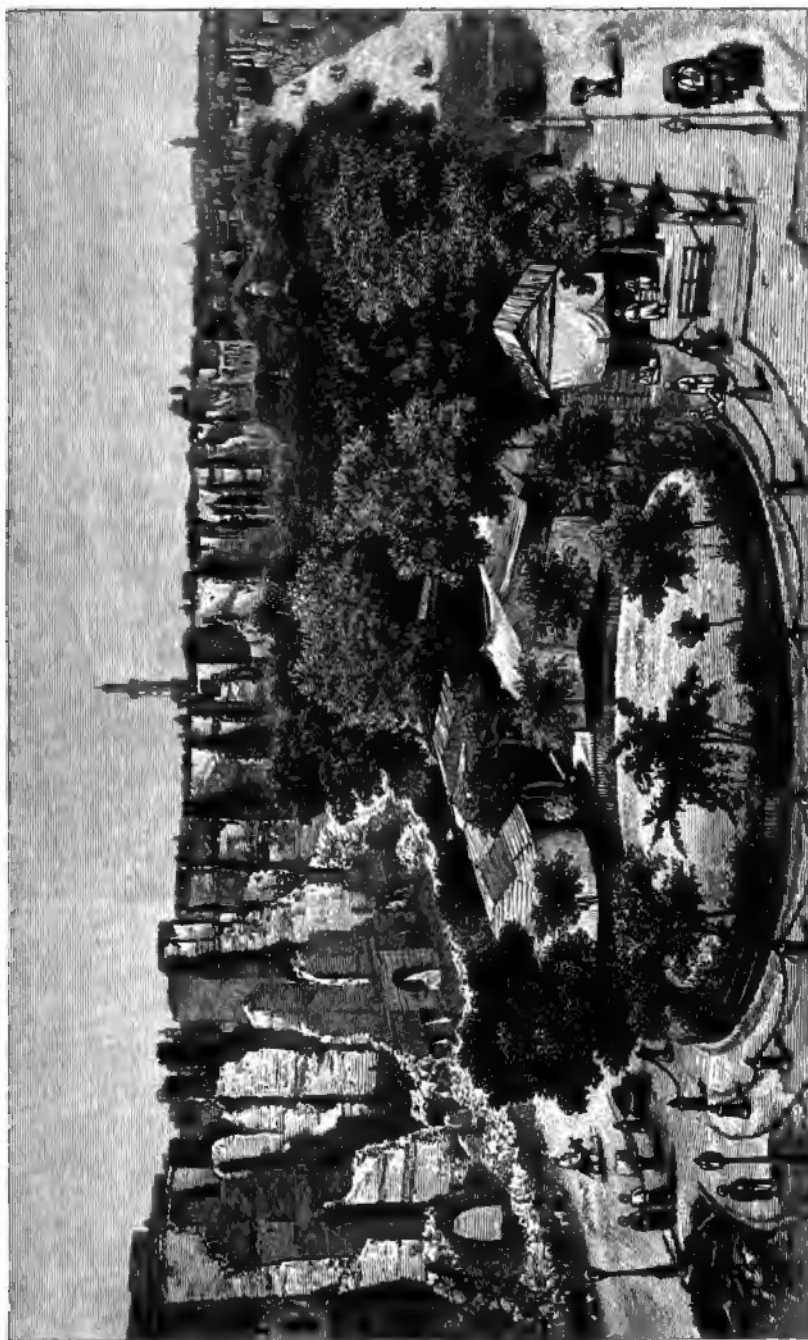






# EGYPT AFTER THE WAR.





PLACE MEHEMET ALI, DECEMBER, 1882. ALEXANDRIA.

[Frontispiece.]

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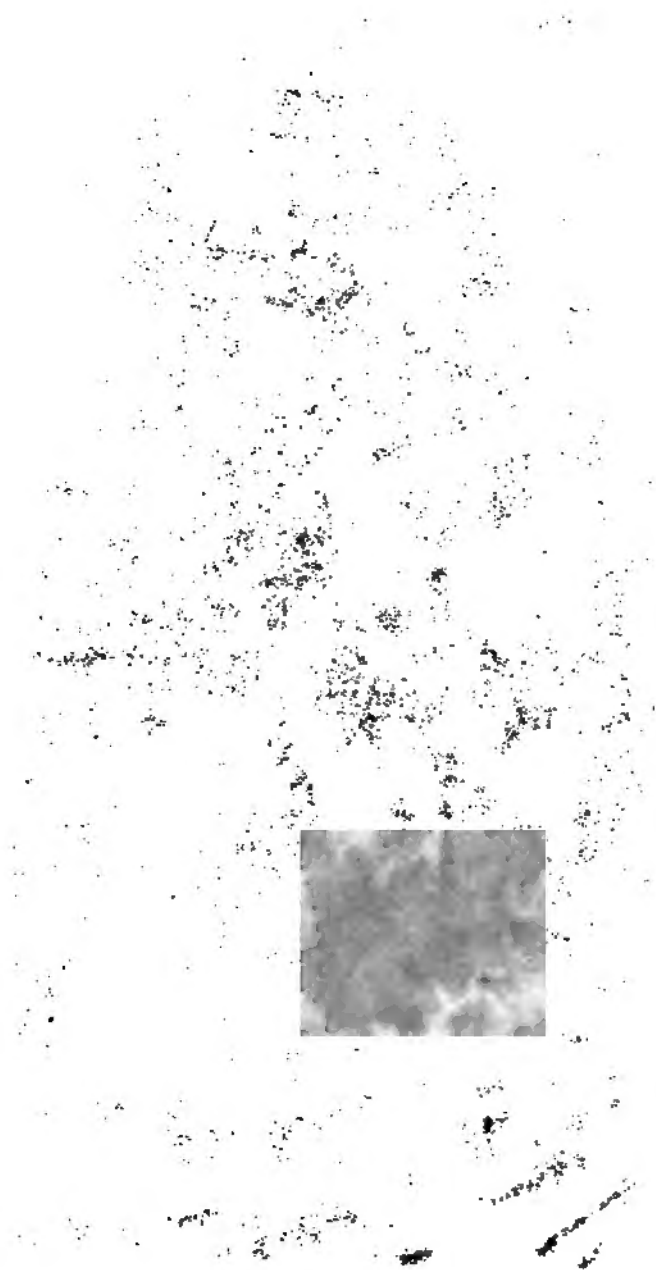
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# EGYPT AFTER THE WAR.

BEING THE  
*NARRATIVE OF A TOUR OF INSPECTION*  
(UNDERTAKEN LAST AUTUMN)

INCLUDING  
EXPERIENCES AMONG THE NATIVES, WITH DESCRIPTIONS  
OF THEIR HOMES AND HABITS.

IN WHICH ARE EMBODIED  
**Notices of the Latest Archæological Discoveries,**  
AND A REVISED ACCOUNT OF  
THE FUNERAL CANOPY OF AN EGYPTIAN QUEEN,  
WITH INTERESTING ADDITIONS.

BY VILLIERS STUART, OF DROMANA, M.P.,  
AUTHOR OF "NILE GLEANINGS."

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"Omne tulit punctum qui miscuit utile dulci."—HORACE.

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## PREFACE.



LAST winter I was engaged in travelling from Province to Province, first in the Delta, subsequently in Middle and Upper Egypt, in order to obtain for those on whom devolved the task of reconstruction in that country, trustworthy information on a variety of points. It was essential to know the conditions of the problem before proceeding to solve it. The method I adopted was to interview natives of all classes in every Province and obtain their own statements from their own mouths, besides verifying the truth of their evidence by looking into everything personally, and collecting and comparing with one another the assertions made to me before basing any conclusion upon them.

His Excellency the Earl of Dufferin, in his now historic despatch, has done me the honour to quote from the reports thus furnished. They were placed before him in succession as compiled.

Subsequently, in the course of last spring, they were issued in the form of a Blue Book by the Government. But Blue Books do not get into the hands of the public; their circulation is limited chiefly to the members of

the two Houses of Legislature. Moreover they are severely restricted to the cut and dry results of the investigations with which they deal.

I have therefore been urged by friends to publish a fuller account of my official tour, adding the picturesque side of it as well as the details of our experiences amongst the natives, with descriptions of their homes and habits. I yielded, and now venture to submit this volume to the public, in the hope that it may not only interest my readers, but help to emancipate the oppressed classes in Egypt, by calling attention to their wrongs, and illustrating the best methods of redressing them.

The following were the points to which my inquiries were chiefly directed :—

Agriculture and productiveness.	Political views of the fellahs.
Irrigation.	The secret of the support given to
Administration of Justice.	Arabi.
Forced labour.	Their feeling towards the English.
The Chamber of Notables.	Their opinions as to projected reforms.
Taxation.	Their sentiments with regard to the
Exemptions enjoyed by Europeans.	Sultan.
Village debts, and the remedy.	Native manufactures.

One object which I have had specially in view has been to give the rank and file of the natives an opportunity of making their voices heard in this country, and of stating their own case. I have therefore laid before my readers the substance of many conversations with them. In doing this a certain amount of repetition became inevitable, notwithstanding that I have omitted much reiteration of evidence upon the same points.

My sympathies are with the mass of the people of Egypt. I have faith in their latent capabilities, if only a fair chance be given to them ; they are industrious and intelligent, and capable both of gratitude and fidelity. The fact that they still retain any good qualities, notwithstanding the cruel mis-government and oppression to which they have for centuries been subjected, speaks volumes in their favour.

It has been the fashion to sneer at them as soldiers. They are no doubt not the best soldiers in the world. Spartan virtues must not be looked for from a nation of Helots. Still, I have always maintained that they can fight when well led, and properly treated. They proved that under Mehemet Ali ; and I am glad to observe that no less an authority than Sir Archibald Alison, in his recent speech at Glasgow, confirms what I have said on this point, and pays a well-merited tribute to the behaviour of the seasoned portion of the Egyptian troops at Tel-el-Kebir. There is no doubt, that but for the surprise so cleverly managed by Sir Garnet Wolseley, those earthworks might have constituted a second Plevna. I have ventured in the following volume to make suggestions for the reform of that gross mis-government which has hung for ages like a millstone round the neck of Egypt, and has prevented the development of her vast resources. No one can form any conception of the enormous increase in her producing power which would follow upon a wise and enlightened system of government ; and of the application of the most ordinary justice and common sense to the principles upon which her taxes are levied, and her government carried on.

England has now a magnificent opportunity. It will be her own fault if she has not noble fruit to show of which she may be proud. But as yet she has only laid a few bricks of the foundation for the new edifice. Were she at this early stage to withdraw, she would deserve the sneers and scorn of the civilised world; and would be in the contemptible position of the man in the parable who began to build and was not able to finish.

Among the Egyptian institutions which were exposed to the most imminent danger of destruction by Arabi's revolt, was the Museum of Boulak. Egyptologists underwent agonies of apprehension for the safety of the priceless treasures contained in it, and it seemed almost too much to hope that "Egypt after the war" would still possess this unique collection. Had the arrival of our troops at Cairo been delayed for one day longer, that capital would have shared the fate of Alexandria, and Boulak with it would have perished in the flames, as the world-renowned library of Alexandria did in the Arab invasion. I had intended publishing a second edition of the "Tent of an Egyptian Queen," one of the latest acquisitions of Boulak, and by no means the least interesting, but circumstances induced me instead to write on Modern Egypt, and I have therefore ventured to include in my present volume the portions of the above-named work which appeared most likely to interest the public, to which I have added notices of the most recent discoveries, together with some account of explorations made by myself since I last wrote. I hope that these may be found to be not without interest, and that the descriptions of them may serve as breaks, and may furnish a welcome

variety, and help to relieve the current of investigation into the modern condition of Egypt.

I could scarcely visit Alexandria and Tel-el-Kebir without reference to the important historic events which had taken place so recently at both these places. I have therefore introduced a summary of the incidents of the bombardment and of the battle, which I trust may not be deemed out of place, especially as they are so closely connected with one of the subjects of my enquiry, viz., the condition and temper of the people after the war.

H. VILLIERS STUART.

DROMANA,

*November, 1883.*



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# EGYPT AFTER THE WAR.

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## CHAPTER I.

First Impressions on landing—Aspect of the Ruins—Place Mehemet Ali—Visit to Ras-el-Tin Palace—A Friend in Need—A high-art Griffin—Fortifications of Alexandria—Its Harbours and Channels of approach—Fort Marabout—Mission of the *Comar*—The Bombardment—Mahmoud Sami and his master Arabi—The Conflagration—Bankrupt Poetry—The Donkeys' Dressing-room—Kafir Dewar—Aspect of Cairo.

On the morning of Dec. 7, 1882, we steamed into the harbour of Alexandria, in the P. and O. ship *Poomah*. As surveyed from the quarter-deck the city appeared to rise from the water's edge none the worse for the bombardment and the incidents that followed; but the illusion was quickly dispelled; and while driving through the European quarter on our way to Abbat's Hotel, we found ourselves amid a wilderness of ruins.

The lieutenants of Arabi had indeed proved themselves adepts in the art of destruction. I visited Paris immediately after the siege, and witnessed the havock made by the Communists there; but they were mere inexperienced bunglers at their work, and their achievements sink into insignificance when compared with the finished performance of the Arab mob.

We traversed streets, almost every house in which was a heap of ruins. Long rows of gable-ends four

stories high, were poised overhead and threatened momentarily to topple down and crush us as we passed. In some cases the fire had missed a corner or a floor, and, the front having collapsed, various articles of furniture, tables and chairs, and, in one instance, a cradle, were seen still standing in their places uninjured. We passed a sign-post, the finger of which pointed to the house of Doctor B——. On looking in the direction indicated, we saw only a mound of quicklime and calcined stones, sole relics of the learned man's abode.

We found the Grand Square even a more complete wreck than we had expected: the centre was occupied by a mass of stones and building rubbish, stowed more or less carefully, and forming an enormous pile which almost rivalled the Great Pyramid in dimensions. It was girdled by gable ends and chimney-stacks nodding to their fall. Tradespeople carried on business in temporary wooden shanties, like booths at a fair. (See Plate LII.) The natives appeared as good-humoured and light-hearted as usual, and no trace was visible of resentment at the intrusion of the red-coated, white-helmeted infidels, who had dealt such havock amongst their countrymen, and now lounged about among them with the lordly air of conquerors.

We visited the forts, and had ample evidence there of the perfection to which the science of destruction has been brought in these days. Gigantic Armstrongs knocked head over heels; walls 10 feet thick reduced to a pile of road metal. In one place we saw a big gun, the muzzle of which had been entered by a shell, which had advanced about a third down the barrel and then burst, splitting it open. The magazines were still full of shot and shell, all piled ready for use. The

guard-rooms contained numbers of odds and ends, just as they were left when the occupants turned out for the last time. Papers littered the floor, written in Arabic, some of them being lists of the soldiers in various companies: Hassans and Alis and Mohammets; many of the poor fellows will never answer a roll call again. The sea fronts of these batteries were mere heaps of rubbish, and to the north spread out the blue waters of the roadstead, the parade ground of the great ironclads that had rained such a pitiless storm of shot and shell upon the devoted forts. (See Plate LIII.)

As we attempted to drive into the barrack square of the Ras-el-Tin Palace, a native in uniform advanced, and said in Italian that we could not enter without a permit; he was in command of a special guard of Egyptian soldiers who had charge of the Palace for the Khedive. We remonstrated, but he did not understand English. The Gordian knot was, however, unexpectedly cut, for at this crisis up came a British full private of the gallant West Kent, a lad of about 19, with a fair English face, a sun-helmet, and a red jacket. He took us under his protection, and turning upon the officer, exclaimed peremptorily, "I say, look here, there is no order against this lady and gentleman driving in—you let 'em through." He of the vanquished race bowed submissively to the representative of victory, and in we went. To the left was the Palace, with dome and minaret. The centre of the great courtyard was occupied by what had once been a garden, but was now trampled and covered with rubbish, more like a cat's cemetery than anything else. Over the rubbish, however, still waved magnificent poinsettias and oleander trees, laden with crimson and

rose-coloured blossoms, a curious contrast. English sentries and English soldiers were in possession; not a shot had struck the Palace; but the fort behind it was a pile of ruins. We saw a sentry of the West Kent on guard over what looked like the contents of a lime-kiln discharged there; it was really a ruined magazine full of shells and huge conical shot covered with copper-studs. Behind it stood a tall lighthouse. All the offices at its foot were in ruins; but, miraculous as it may seem, not a shot had struck the lighthouse itself. We conversed with the sentry. "Yes, it was a dull beat, but he would soon be relieved. He did not dislike Alexandria at all as a quarter; the beef was bad, but they got extra pay, and they could do much as they pleased—he had never felt better in his life. Some of his comrades had had fever; he thought it was partly their own fault—perhaps it was bad water. He thought it hard lines that the troops who went home first got all the banquets and all the glory, and there would be none for them who stayed out longest—however, it was the fortune of war!"

The existing fortifications at Alexandria were planned in Paris by Marshal Soult, and carried out under the superintendence of French engineers.

The whole of the works were originally well built of stone, but have been for the most part neglected, and have fallen out of repair.

They may be classed under three heads:—

- (a) The outlying works to the westward, destined to oppose an advance from the direction of Marabout, and to command the western harbour.
- (b) The works on the north, commanding the sea approaches and the eastern harbour.

- (c) The enceinte and included works, more especially those bearing on the approaches from Abukir, with the detached forts on the south front bearing on Lake Mareotis.

The forts commanding the harbour and our fleet bristled with big guns, and had they been fought by artillerymen who knew how to hit the mark, and could old Mehemet Ali himself have returned to life to take the command, our ships must have come out of the affair in very different plight. As a matter of fact the Egyptians possessed 37 heavy Armstrongs, varying from the 10 in. of 18 tons to the 7 in. of 6½ tons. They had ammunition in abundance. In addition to the heavy rifled guns there were four 40-pounder Armstrong breechloaders and 227 smooth-bores, from a piece of ordnance weighing about 10 tons to a light 36-pounder, apparently an old naval gun, besides 42 mortars.

Such being their armament, and as additional guns were daily added in spite of the repeated warnings of the British Admiral, it cannot be said that he opened fire an hour too soon to secure the safety of the fleet.

Our armament consisted of four 81-ton guns, twelve of 25 tons, twenty-four of 18 tons, and twenty-six of 12½ tons, besides which were the Gatlings and Nordenfeldt machine guns, which were stationed in the "tops."

It will help my readers to understand the details of the bombardment, if I here give an outline of the approaches to Alexandria, of the nature of her harbours, and of the bearing of her military defences upon the order of attack.

I have annexed a plan, reference to which will, I hope, make the incidents of the engagement clear. (Pl. XXXIV.)

The eastern harbour has, except for fishing boats and small craft, been long disused owing to its exposure to the north winds, and to the rocks and shoals with which it is encumbered.

The Boghaz or central channel into the western harbour cannot be depended on during northerly winds.

The Marabout or inshore channel has 4 to 6 and the Corvette about 5 fathoms of water.

These three are the only channels utilized for shipping of any size; all others are dangerous, being narrow and shallow. The breakwater which forms one of the principal features in the magnificent harbour has given Alexandria of late years a port containing an area of 1400 acres of deep water 5 fathoms and upwards, with landing quays nearly  $2\frac{3}{4}$  miles in length. The breakwater commences about 800 yards south-west of Ras-el-Tin lighthouse, and running 500 yards south-west makes a bend to the south-south-west for 2050 yards, giving a total length of 2550 yards. The principal entrance is round the south-west end, about 1500 yards from the shore; there is another for small vessels at the north-east end.

A great harbour mole, with a length of 1100 yards and a width at the top of 100 feet, has also been run in a northerly direction from the shore at the landing place of the Cairo Railway.

Fort Marabout, the most westerly of the detached forts constituting the coast and harbour defences of Alexandria, stands on Marabout island, 6 miles in a direct line from the Lighthouse Point, and 400 yards east from Marabout Point, or Cape Adjmi as it is also called. It commands the Marabout or western entrance to the harbour.

Marsa-el-Kanat and other small works intervened between Marabout and Mex.

On the annexed plan I have been compelled by want of space to place Fort Marabout more than an inch nearer the town than the scale warrants. Its actual distance from Ras-el-Tin, as the crow flies, is six miles. The information already given as to the channels of approach, together with an inspection of the map, will explain why so much importance was attached to the silencing of Fort Marabout. It commands the main channel, which is within 1500 yards of it. Moreover, it was partly in the rear of the ships which engaged Fort Mex, and was a source of danger to them ; it was also the strongest of all the forts except one. The main channel is flanked right and left by dangerous shoals. It was on one of these that the *Temeraire* got aground, when true to her name she rashly ventured too close in. She was got off by the *Condor*, which had her Commander's knack of being in the right place at the right time, and doing the right thing.

The reason why the *Condor*, and subsequently other gunboats, were told off to deal with the Marabout was that they drew comparatively little water, and would not be hampered by the shoals. The line-of-battle ships at the commencement of the bombardment occupied the positions assigned them on the map, but they did not remain at anchor during the engagement ; but after disposing of Ras-el-Tin, Fort Mex, and Fort Ada, the *Alexandra*, *Sultan*, and *Superb* steamed round opposite Pharos, and gave it its turn. (See Plate LIII.)

It was at 7 A.M. that the *Alexandra* fired the first shot. She was quickly followed by the *Invincible*, *Monarch*, *Penelope*, *Sultan*, *Superb*, *Inflexible*, and the

*Cygnets*. The opening incidents were not auspicious; while the *Temeraire* was aground and her fate doubtful, her big sisters also had their troubles. A languid air stole across from the N. W., and rolled the smoke towards shore. Every discharge added vast volumes to the obstruction, until a dense solid bank of silver-grey vapour lay upon the water, hiding out the forts as effectually as a stone wall, while their own tall tapering masts towered up above, making them conspicuous marks for the enemy. Presently the *Invincible* had her fore royal braces shot away, and was hit in the hull besides. A 10-inch shell next entered the *Alexandra*, and lay fizzing and fuming on her main deck till a gunner named Harding took the noisy darling to his arms and dropped it into a water-tank. A midgy now volunteered to signal the direction from the main top, and thus the true range was obtained; the first effect of that was the blowing up of a fort between Mex and Marabout, followed by the silencing of Marsa-el-Kanat. The people in Mex began to have a bad time. Huge bolts from the 81-ton guns came hurtling against the parapets, sending showers of stones, and splinters of shell fast and thick amongst the defenders; the platforms were cumbered with the slain. An hour later all their guns except four were speechless. Meanwhile the *Condor*, commanded by Lord Charles Beresford, engaged Fort Marabout at first all alone, but, later on, was joined by the *Bittern* and the *Cygnets*. These circled round and round like three birds of prey wheeling about their quarry, and in five hours silenced the structure they had honoured with their attentions. By midday Forts Mex and Ras-el-Tin had fired their last shot. A party of blue jackets hereupon landed and









FIG. 11. AND 12. EARTHWORK DURING CONSTRUCTION.



massacre on June 11th, but what actually occurred was that he allowed the massacre to proceed without interfering, until the Europeans, recovering from their surprise, fired upon the mob from the windows, and the Arabs began to get the worst of it. Then it was that he thought fit to intervene.

The three parallel lines which appear on the plan are the three great thoroughfares of Rue Bab-el-Akdar, running west of Fort Napoleon; Rue d'Anastasi, immediately behind it; and Rue Ibrahim, leading to the railway station. At the head of these main routes, at right angles with them, will be seen the Great Square—Place Mehemet Ali—the heart of the European quarter, and the principal scene of the conflagration. It was along these that Sami's companies retreated, firing the houses as they went, and issuing by the Gabari and Mahmoudieh gates, joined their comrades at Kafr Dowar. (See Plate LII.)

A few remained, however, to guard the Khedive, who had been virtually a prisoner in the Ras-el-Tin Palace, in hourly danger of assassination. His Highness was relieved from his perilous position by the arrival of our troops.

As we wandered among the ruined forts, we noticed that everywhere natives were sunning themselves, light-hearted and good-humoured as usual, thoughtless of yesterday, thoughtless of to-morrow, like dogs who scratch holes for themselves to bask in, and care not a jot for all the world outside.

I was surprised to find in the wrecked casemates many little articles scattered about which had been left untouched by the natives. I wondered at their exemplary honesty, until I remembered the moral philosophers at

whose feet they had studied. Lord Charles Beresford's blue-jackets, who were so very handy with their carbines whenever lootists were in question, had taught them a lesson which they had not yet forgotten; their sermons had made quick conversions, and Messrs. Broadley and Napier were not there to defend the culprits.

The vast mounds of rubbish that filled the sites where palaces stood a few months ago were stuck all over with masses of beautiful wrought-iron work in good preservation; balustrades, screens, fanlights, staircases, &c. I saw a party of soldiers cooking their breakfast *al fresco* on an elaborately wrought iron fanlight supported on the fragments of a marble staircase; it formed a high-art gridiron on a large scale, and pieces of half-charred beams made a capital fire under it; a large fish formed part of the *menu*. Various domestic articles were also to be seen protruding through the rubbish: amongst others we observed several of those tin hip-baths so dear to Englishmen, but no longer now in a condition to hold water.

The town poultry who survived the bombardment looked dilapidated; all the cocks were minus their tails, like birds who had lived through difficult times and had not succeeded in saving their wardrobes. The hens, on the contrary, profited in one way, for the cremated palaces furnished plenty of lime, and egg shells were extra thick; it is an ill wind that blows nobody good. The European colony here are indignant at the commutation of Arabi's sentence. They say that if it had to be done it would have been more decent to have deferred it for a fortnight.

They were specially indignant at the presentation to Arabi, on the conclusion of his trial, of a bouquet of

roses in the name of the Ladies of England. They wondered whether, if the heroine of that performance had had her house burned and her friends massacred, she would have lavished the same admiration upon the author of her misfortunes.

I must be understood to be only recording the feelings and expressions of the Alexandrians. I do not enter into the controversy myself.

Early next morning, as I was exploring the forts and the native quarters of the town behind them, I came upon a most amusing scene. In a retired bay, the shelving shore of which was licked by azure wavelets, were assembled forty or fifty donkeys in deshabelle. Their saddles and trappings lined the shore, and their owners were hauling and pushing the stubborn beasts into the waters, washing them all over, giving them a kind of beauty bath, as the athletes of old were bathed and anointed before the Olympian games.

These attentions did not appear to be at all appreciated by the recipients, possibly because the waters, being extra briny, communicated unpleasant sensations to sundry awful raws which stood revealed now that their saddle cloths were removed.

Moreover, the first effect of the ducking they were treated to did not enhance their beauty, but gave them the aspect of drowned rats.

They reminded me of old Horace's "*iniquæ mentis asellus demissis auriculis*:" "An ass of troubled mind and drooping ears."

After the bath came the rubbing down and the toilet. The swarthy lads in fezzes and blue cotton gowns became their valets and hair-dressers, combing and grooming them, and touching up their manes and tails

with such cosmetics as yellow turmeric. This work achieved, they cocked their heads on one side the better to admire the general effect, then replacing saddle and housings they mounted their dandified animals and cantered off to the scene of their triumphs in the Grand Square.

My object in visiting the native quarters was to ascertain whether much damage had been done there by the bombardment, but beyond a stray shot hole or two the houses were unharmed, though many of them were so old and ricketty, and varied from the perpendicular in such tipsy fashion that it is a wonder the cannonade did not shake them down.

On our way to Cairo we passed through the earth-works of Kafr Dowar, which bestrode the railway and the canal ; they are about ten miles from Alexandria and are more carefully made and more formidable than those of Tel-el-Kebir, which were thrown up in great haste. They occupied a very strong position right across the neck of land that separates Lake Mareotis from Lake Edkou, and our forces were kept at bay there for many weeks ; they were only surrendered after the collapse of Arabi's power at Tel-el-Kebir. In Cairo itself little change was perceptible. Shepheard's and the Grand Hotel stood in their old places and presented their usual aspects. There was however one decidedly new sensation in store for us, and that was the guard-rooms garrisoned with scarlet uniforms and sun helmets, the fair-haired sentries from Albion and Caledonia, pacing in front of every public building, and the rich brogue of Erin mingling with Oriental tongues and disputing about piastres with characteristic vehemence.




## CHAPTER II.

Start from Cairo—Our Steamer—The Barrage—Bershoum—The Night-Watch—  
Morning Visitors—Evidence of a small Peasant Proprietor.

ON December 18th we started from Cairo on an official tour through the provinces of the Delta. For this purpose we had been furnished with a special steamer, the *Benisouef* by name, commanded and manned by Egyptian officers and soldiers, all armed and wearing their military uniforms. As our duties were to take us to districts in which massacres had been perpetrated, and which had not since been visited by Europeans, we were not sorry to have our floating home thus garrisoned. It was impossible in advance to forecast the manner of reception we should experience from a people among whom fanaticism had recently raged so fiercely. Two interpreters accompanied the expedition, one a native Egyptian of good education and well connected: his brother being a landed proprietor of position and influence in his own district; and he was also an Effendi. The other an ordinary Dragoman of much intelligence. During part of the time we had also a third interpreter, a Syrian: between the last two a keen jealousy and rivalry existed, and there was not much love lost. We turned this antagonism to account by putting them all on duty in the same districts and comparing the results. I had, however, a sufficient colloquial knowledge of

Arabic to follow the tenour of the conversations that took place with the natives, so that I could make sure of the accuracy of their interpretations. We steamed rapidly down the grand old river till we reached the Barrage; this is a structure which was intended to dam up the Nile at will, and raise the level above it for purposes of irrigation. But instead of traversing the stream higher up where it is confined within a single channel, the engineers had chosen a site below the point at which the mighty flood divides, thus augmenting the expense of construction and ensuring heavier commissions and percentages.

The long array of arches which carry it across the two river arms and the apex of the Delta, have a most imposing effect, increased by the battlemented towers with which it is decorated. But the costly structure is more picturesque than useful; the foundations are not deep enough to withstand the enormous pressure of the waters when the sluices are closed, and consequently it has served to irrigate the contractors' pockets more than anything else; and it is a most inconvenient obstruction to navigation: we were delayed here by the necessity of passing through the locks. Meanwhile the superintendent came on board to pay his respects and smoke a cigarette, and the banks were crowded with natives speculating on the true explanation of such a strange phenomenon as our steamer. Some of them came to the conclusion that it was the Prince of Wales! Meanwhile we went ashore, and strolled across the Barrage. Fortunately the crowd that followed us was stopped at the portcullis, reminding me of how O'Connell got rid of his troublesome crowd of admirers on one occasion in Dublin by crossing Essex-bridge, on which there was a



half-penny toll—an outlay which proved with all and every of them too great for their political enthusiasm. At the extremity of the Barrage a magnificent avenue of tamarind trees fringed the road, and to the left of this on some waste ground was a military camp, and a multitude of men and women squatting on the ground with the usual patience and resignation of Orientals. They were a consignment of recruits, victims of the new conscription, attended by their families who came to bid them farewell. I have witnessed few more distressing scenes in its way than those which accompany the conscription in Egypt. It is more trying even than the leave-taking of Irish emigrants; and that is saying much. However, as I shall have an opportunity of describing its incidents later on, I shall not attempt to do so now. Conscripts are often brought to headquarters chained together like convicts. In the camp were troops of cavalry horses picketed in long rows; some of the soldiers were cooking their supper, while others, with their faces towards Mecca, were reciting their evening prayers. When may we hope to see such devotions practised in a Christian camp?

We returned to the *Benisouef*, which was warped through the lock with a chorus of shrill cries such as an Arab mob only can produce, but that did not prevent our achieving a collision with a projecting corner which tore away a plank from the paddle-box.

Once through we steamed without further let or hindrance down the eastern channel of the Nile towards Damietta; and as the afterglow which succeeds sunset in Egypt was dying out, and the shades of night were falling, we made fast under a high bank overhung by a gigantic acacia tree. A couple of hundred yards

further to the south was a large village called Bershoum. Near us were moored some native boats which had just discharged their cargoes of round-bellied pots. The latter had been piled on the bank above, and looked like pyramids of giant skulls grinning at us in the moonlight.

The roar of the escaping steam quickly brought all the notables of the place upon us. Swarthy men in turbans and fezzes and flowing robes soon lined the embankment overhead, and their picturesque figures were seen cut hard against the skyline amid much chattering and excitement. Ultimately they lighted a fire under the afore-mentioned acacia, and the most inquisitive of them kept the village guard company beside it, and whiled away the night with gossip, chibouk, and cigarette till rosy Aurora proclaimed the dawn.

Bershoum is famous for its figs, and also as being the place nearly opposite which the great Menoufieh Canal begins; it passes through the capital of the province, and used formerly to communicate with the Rosetta branch of the Nile, but has lately been dammed up. Another canal goes to Chibin-el-Kôm, the town in the interior of the Delta of which we have lately heard much in connection with the cholera, by which it has been terribly scourged.

Next morning my shaving operations were interrupted by the arrival of a deputation of village elders, headed by the Sheik, to pay their respects to the Englishman. I received them under an awning on the promenade deck, and the during-the-next-few-weeks-many-times-to-be-repeated ceremony of cigarettes and coffee had to be gone through. In the course of the conversation which followed, they dwelt on their obligations to England for

saving them from ruin, while I amused them by exhibiting my Winchester repeater and revolver, as also a Court sword, in all which lethal weapons they took only a languid interest, but brightened up when I spoke of irrigation by steam. The interview over, we went ashore and passed through their village; it contained some little shops presided over by Greeks. At the entrance of the main street was a triumphal arch with an Arabic inscription in honour of the re-establishment of the Khedive's authority; it was decorated with palm branches. I passed on to the cultivated land beyond, and visited a three-acre farm belonging to an intelligent Fellah, with whom I had a long conversation: his principal statements were confirmed scores of times over in the course of my subsequent enquiries. They were as follows:

My land tax is at the rate of \* P. T. 164 per feddan (about £1 14s. English).

It was fixed twenty years ago, at the commencement of Ismaïl's reign, and never changed since. I have no complaint to make of the amount.

Up to the time of his accession the tax stood at from P. T. 80 to P. T. 110, according to quality of land.

Q. Why do you not feel dissatisfied with the increase?  
—A. Because formerly I was liable to extra and arbitrary charges. I had no authority for them but the word of the collector. The tax was thus often doubled.

\* P. T. stands for Piastres Tariff as distinguished from Piastres current, which are worth about half the Tariff Piastre.

P. T. 97½ are about equivalent to £1 English.

P. T. 100 are equivalent to £1 Egyptian.

A feddan is equal to about 1 acre English.

An ardeb is equal to 5 English bushels.

I had no remedy; nominally I had an appeal to the Mudir; practically that was worthless, everything went by bribes.

Q. Why did so many sympathize with Arabi?—A. Because he represented to us that our debts to the Christian usurers should be cancelled if he succeeded. He took horses, camels, buffaloes, wheat. He promised that if he was successful the value would be allowed as a drawback to the taxes.

He took two horses from me and seven from my brother. We were never paid, and nothing was deducted from the taxes on account of them.

I have to pay 492 piastres Tariff (about £5 English) on my 3 acres.

Q. What was the value of your crops?—A. First I had a crop of wheat. It produced 4 ardebs, *i.e.*, 20 bushels, per acre. It sold for P. T. 120 per ardeb. It was followed by maize, which produced from 4 to 4½ ardebs per feddan, and sold for P. T. 80 per ardeb. The wheat occupied the land for four months, and the maize for 3 months. These were followed by fodder crops, eaten off the land or cut green. The only live stock I have is a cow and a donkey.

Q. What makes the fellaheen so poor?—A. The Government, in exacting the taxes this year, was without pity. They are distraining our cattle and sheep. They are even selling our land often far below its value. I have known what was worth 50 sold for 15.

But the greatest cause of poverty of all is the usurers. The Greeks and Syrians lend money to pay the taxes with at 8 or 10 per cent. per month. They take advantage of our ignorance, they alter the amount, they take money on account and often give no receipts, they

afterwards deny that they have received anything on account, then they make their debtor get sureties, and end by selling up both his land and that of his sureties.

Formerly, before the Consular Tribunals were established, it had been the custom from time immemorial that no man's land could be sold or taken from him without his consent ; now a man may be evicted in a summary manner after short process, whether he consents or not. Thus the change in the law ruins many who might otherwise have been saved, because, when the usurer wants to get possession of their land, he refuses to give time. This change in the law causes great discontent, it reduces many to beggary, it makes the new Courts hated, it has taken away our protection against the usurers.

*Q.* What remedy would you suggest?—*A.* If the Government were to establish loan banks in every district to advance money at a moderate rate of interest, it would save the fellah from ruin.

*Q.* Is there any tax of which you complain?—*A.* The sheep tax is very mischievous. The tax is often demanded of the fellahs at a time when their sheep are not fit to sell, and they have to part with them far below their value to pay the tax. Then they think it unjust, after they have paid the tax on the land, to have to pay a second tax on the sheep which live off the land. They tax the wool of the sheep extra. If a man sells his sheep he must pay an octroi duty, if he kills it he must pay octroi duty. These taxes prevent men keeping as many sheep as they otherwise would.

We would not complain of the land tax if we were treated indulgently and given a fair chance to pay when

we could, but this year the creditors took the crops, and nothing was left to the fellahs.

When I say the creditors, I mean the tax-collector and the usurers. When a creditor seizes a crop and it does not suffice to pay the whole sum due, he takes care to add on to the debt—he takes advantage of our ignorance to do so, and notwithstanding that the crop has been distrained and ought to be reckoned as payment on account, the debt remains as high as before.

Q. Is there any tax in your district on water-wheels?  
—A. No.

Q. Do the fellahs construct them at their own expense?  
—A. They generally borrow the money to construct them with. The average cost is from 300 to 350 P. T. The wheels cost about 100 piastres, and the well with brick lining P. T. 200. They borrow at 3 to 5 per cent. per month for this purpose.

Q. How many feddans does one water-wheel irrigate?  
—A. About 6 feddans; it depends upon what the crop is. Cotton requires more irrigation than wheat or maize.

Q. How long is it since the fellahs have been so deeply in debt?—A. In the beginning of Ismaïl Pasha's reign there were great exactions. These drove them into debt. They borrowed of the usurers to meet the exactions, and they have never since been able to shake them off. Before that they were free.

Q. How is justice administered in your district?—A. It is all by bribery; a poor man has no chance. If he is wronged, if it is a small debt, or if he has been maltreated, or beaten or robbed, there is a small local Tribunal, the constable of the village reports the case



to the Mahmoud (Nazir), who if he deems it sufficiently important reports it to the Mudir. If it is a land dispute, *e.g.*, about boundaries or successions, it goes to Tantah; three or four or five years may elapse before it is settled. If he has a buffalo or a cow, he must sell it to make presents for Chief Clerks and their subordinates, and even high officials. He is soon ruined. In other cases which are reported by the Constable to the Mahmoud, and by the Mahmoud to the Mudir, the man who can afford to bribe highest gets the most favourable reports. The decision of the Mudir is final, unless he himself chooses to refer the case to the Tribunals. Since the European intervention there is some little improvement; things are not quite so bad as they were, but they are still very bad.

Q. Can you explain to me the forced labour system?  
—A. The Mudirs and Engineers make lists showing the amount of embankment works and canal works required to be executed in any district. The Public Works Department fixes the amount of labour required for this purpose. The Mudir apportions to each village the number of hands it is to supply; the Sheik-el-Beled used to fix who was to work and who was to be exempt, and those who could bribe him to let them off did so. But for the last three years this has been changed. Now the villagers settle amongst themselves who is to go, and they relieve each other at the work.

Q. Can you tell me anything about the Notables? Do they represent the farmers? Have the fellahs confidence in them?  
—A. They are wealthy land-owners. I think they are nominated by the Mudir. I scarcely know anything about them. I do not know who represents our district. I have no knowledge of them.

As the above is the first conversation with a native recorded in this volume, I have thought it best to give in detail my questions as well as his replies, to illustrate the mode of catechism which I adopted, but in future examinations I shall omit all questions not necessary for clearness.

I may observe here that the Notables or *Omdahs* correspond to the old-fashioned squires and gentleman farmers of English rural society 200 years ago ; they are distinguished from the rank and file of the peasant proprietary by larger possessions. They have more land, farm servants and cattle. They ride good horses, and have two or three wives ; they enjoy more opportunities of mixing with the outer world, and are less ignorant than their fellows. From this class the Chamber of Notables is elected, as also the Sheiks-el-Beled. The latter have recognized functions and responsibilities ; they may be compared to our J.P.'s, but their powers are much more extensive ; they not only administer rough justice in petty cases, but they are the intermediaries between their people and the Government. In all things relating to the levying of taxes, of the conscription, or of forced labour, if an additional tax is to be exacted, the Sheik is made responsible for it, and must wring it from the fellaheen as best he can. Like our country justices he gets no pay, but in Egypt great is backsheesh. Power there means money, for it can spare one man at the expense of the others, and the Sheik is influenced in the customary manner. He has despotic authority, and can be a most oppressive tyrant. Where the village is small, there is but one Sheik ; where it is large there are several, each section having its own.

### CHAPTER III.

Arabi's Grain Stores.—Visit of a Sheik—A Ride into the Interior—Charon's Boat—A Native Farmhouse—Cultivation in the Delta—A Farmyard—Farm Labourers.

IN passing through the outskirts of Bershoum I came upon a place enclosed by high palisades within which was stored an immense pile of wheat. The natives told me that this was one of the depôts of grain levied on the district by Arabi, but not removed. I enquired why, after the suppression of his rebellion, the wheat had not been returned to the fellahs from whom it had been taken. They smiled at my innocence. What! give it back? The Government knew a trick worth two of that. They took possession of it themselves at an arbitrary valuation 25 per cent. below the market-price; the reduced amount would be allowed to the owners towards their land tax. Meanwhile the heap remained there awaiting removal. On my return to the *Benisouef* I was visited by the Sheik of a neighbouring townland—Tantah Gezireh. He came attended by a small retinue of village elders, and was handsomely dressed in turban and the usual flowing robes. I received the party on the stern balcony which overhung the water, and was cool and airy. Coffee and cigarettes having been served round he told me that he was a Notable, but did not belong to the Chamber. His village was in the province of Kalioubieh across the river, which divided it

from Menoufieh, the province in which Bershoum was situated. He had a farm of 200 acres, about one third of which was planted with cotton. It was a profitable crop, producing on an average five kantars per feddan, worth 300 piastres and upwards per kantar, so that an acre of cotton is worth from £15 to £16. It is followed the same season by a crop of wheat or of fodder.

He gave me other details of his farm, and we then went on to speak of the indebtedness of the fellaheen, and he explained to me the influence which the exorbitant exactions of the usurers had exercised in arousing a spirit of hatred against the Christians. In speaking of the incidents of the rebellion he complained of the exactions of Arabi, who took away his horses, and cattle, and wheat. The Government were not making any allowance for these losses now, but exacted the taxes all the same, so that this year they had had to pay double, and that notwithstanding the interruption to tillage and irrigation which the war had caused, consequently they were plunged more deeply into debt than ever.

I asked him, amongst other things, whether the smallest class of farmers eke out their means by working upon the large farms, but he said that even those who own but one acre will not work for hire as labourers, but devote themselves solely to their own land.

Next morning, soon after sunrise, the Sheik of a large inland village, some miles distant from the river, arrived, bringing with him a couple of good-looking Arab horses, and invited me to pay him a visit, placing his stud at my service for the journey. I accepted, nothing loth, and we started off across country. Of course I took several of our crew as escort, and I carried the Winchester repeater across my saddle-bow. It requires horses to

the manner born to travel in the Delta, it is traversed by so many canals, which must be crossed in boats of very rickety construction, big, deep, and clumsy. They are not decked, and I could not but admire the cleverness with which our animals jumped into and out of the holds of these craft, and scrambled up and down steep embankments, and dodged in and out amongst channels, watercourses, and gaping cracks in the ground ; sometimes we had to pick our way along the crest of high narrow crumbling banks, much like balancing along the edge of a knife ; there are no roads whatever. We passed through several large villages, at every one of which we were invited to dismount and partake of the hospitality of the inhabitants.

There are no fences ; the bounds of each farm are marked by stones, the land-marks of the Bible, to remove which was denounced as entailing a curse.

The dead level of the country is relieved by occasional palm groves, though they are less numerous here than in Upper Egypt. At last we came to a shallow lake of considerable size which stopped the way. On the far side we saw a boat, but how to get at it was the rub ; ultimately a couple of our men stripped all except their turbans, and waded across, though the water rose occasionally to their arm-pits, and one of them floundered into a hole and disappeared, turban and all. However, they reached the clumsy-looking craft, and then found there were no oars, so there was nothing for it but to push it along before them by hand. I never saw such a strangely built vessel : there was not a plank in it more than two feet long ; it seemed to be constructed of bootjacks and broom-sticks, the latter doing duty as ribs. It was as round as a tub ;

evidently the builder had not taken the mackerel for his model; the chinks were stuffed with mud: to this frail vehicle Cæsar and all his fortunes had to be trusted. We left the horses in charge of a couple of Arabs, deciding to walk the remaining distance to Lebeishè, which was the name of my host's abode; but our difficulties were not yet over, for we took the ground about twenty yards from shore and had to ride on the shoulders of the native escort, who waded with us to terra firma. As we floundered along I devoutly hoped I might not be served the same trick as Friar Tuck served King Richard, when he carried him across the ford.

Our host's residence proved to be a large farm-house, with a courtyard in the centre. We were shown into a kind of barrack-room with ottomans arranged all round; the windows were strongly barred, and were guiltless of glass. Cakes, sweetmeats, and coffee were handed about on trays, followed by cigarettes, and much talk about agriculture.

After a brief rest we started for an inspection of my host's farm. In the courtyard, buffaloes, camels, and goats took the place of the less picturesque oxen and sheep of England. Coarse, reed-like dourra straw of immense length littered the ground, and its tough woody fibre was being ground into nutriment by the powerful molars of the before-mentioned beasts.

Dusky men in skull-caps and cotton rags were tending the live stock, and engaged in various jobs, and an overseer, tall and stalwart, adorned with a turban, and wearing a flowered dressing-gown, was keeping an eye over the general operations. We adjourned to the labourers' quarters close by; they consisted of a short street of hovels of Nile mud thatched, the intervening

space covered with cotton haulm. Amongst this, in front of the sheds, squatted the labourers' wives, pounding dourra or mending clothes. As we approached, they shyly drew their blue cotton mantillas half across their faces, leaving only one eye visible. The lane was moreover full of dusky little native children stark naked, all belly and flies. The mystery is how these ugly little brats contrive to develop into the tall fine-looking men and women one sees in Egypt. The survival of the fittest, I suppose. The mortality is very great, but so is the production.

We then went over the fields, and inspected the cultivation, examining the stubble to verify the statements made. I may observe here that this was my practice throughout my tour of enquiry, both in the Delta and in Upper Egypt. In the East, if you wish to get at facts, you must supplement your information as far as you can, with your own eyesight. For instance, when told that wheat was often planted after cotton, and a wheat crop obtained in the same season, I did not record this as a fact, until I had seen with my own eyes the wheat coming up amongst the cotton stubble, which is left standing to shade and shelter the young plant.

My host informed me that he had only 35 acres of cotton this season, 30 of dourra (a kind of maize), 30 of wheat, and 25 of fodder crops; the rest of his land had remained fallow owing to the incidents of the rebellion.

The cotton had produced 5 kantars = 450 lbs. per acre; but owing to the rebellion, it had not been properly irrigated, and the quality was consequently not up to the mark; it had realized only 290 P. T. per kantar (90



PLATE LV

PHARAOH'S LEAN KINE .



11

lbs.) *i.e.* about £2 19s., making £14 17s. per acre. The wheat crop which was following would be worth £5 per acre, making the total produce for the season £19 17s. per acre. He had sold the cotton last month (November).

We adjourned to the canal, on the bank of which he had a steam-pump; he gave me the following information about it.

“This steam-pump of 10 horse-power irrigates from 6 to 8 acres of land per day, according to the crops. If it is cotton crop, it irrigates 6 acres only; if it is wheat or maize, it irrigates 8 acres per day, notwithstanding it depends on the existing supply of water. Often we irrigate lands for the neighbours at a moderate charge, according to agreement. The cotton crop requires 8 to 12 times water. The fellahs in this district do not care much for steam-pumps. Labourers, when working permanently on farms, get a share of the produce and sometimes the use of a buffalo cow free of charge. They feed these cows on the farm; they take for themselves the advantage of their milk, butter, and cheese: also they take land and cultivate it in partnership with the owner of the farm. They also are allowed water for irrigation, instruments for ploughing, and seeds without charge. Their women and children have an extra pay of P. T. 2 per day when picking out cotton. They are allowed 2 ardebs of maize per year.”

The steam-pump was an ordinary portable pumping-engine, to which an iron pipe was attached, descending the canal bank and entering the water.

I saw many such throughout the Delta, they are coming into general use, and it is a very satisfactory indication of the spread of intelligence and the desire for practical improvement in Egypt.

As we strolled along, I obtained the following replies to my questions:—

*Q.* What is the total amount of the taxes, local and imperial, which you have to pay?—*A.* “P. T. 164 per feddan, Land tax, and P. T.  $3\frac{1}{2}$  for each sheep per year. I have also to pay octroi duties on all articles I send to market. The Land tax was assessed twenty years ago, by officials appointed by the Government for the purpose, together with the Chiefs and Notables. It is known to me what my proportion of taxes is from a printed form (‘takseet’), in which the Moudir fixes the proportionate amount of taxes we have to pay. This printed form is a recent improvement introduced by the Europeans to protect us from imposition. I have no security that it is the amount justly due besides the printed form (‘takseet’). If I have any reason for appeal, I may either bring it before the Mahmoud of the district or the Mudir, but it is very difficult, and almost impossible, to obtain a final decision on the case without paying bribes. Sometimes I have to borrow money to meet taxes at a rate of interest of 2 and 3 per cent. per month of four weeks; this in case of accidents happening to crops.”

“As regards the administration of justice it is all by bribery. A poor man, if he has been beaten, has to report his case to the constable of the village or the Mahmoud (Nazir), and, if the latter deems it important, he reports it to the Mudir. If it is a land or succession dispute, it should be brought before the local Tribunal concerned, and there it remains years, till it gets settled or terminated, and perhaps it may cause the ruin of the man in paying bribes and presents. Cases are tried by the Mahmoud

(Nazir) of the Moudirieh. If I am not satisfied with the decision, I can appeal to the local Tribunal."

"The forced labour system is absolutely necessary for the maintenance of dykes and canals; such works must be executed in order to facilitate irrigation.

"Those peasants who work under the Corvee get nothing. They get no remuneration whatever either in kind or in money, the maintenance of dykes and canals being, in fact, the justification for forced labour; it has been limited long ago to these purposes, but it leads very generally to abuses, and is applied for the private benefit of men in power. I have no vote for the election of the Chamber of Notables. I do not know who represents the district. Notables, in fact, are elected and nominated by the Mudir in a private manner, according to the instructions or orders he may receive from the Minister of the Interior. I have not the least confidence in the present Chamber of Notables. They only represent their own interests. The greater part of them are far from being qualified to be appointed to such important posts. The Notables have no liberty to discuss the public interests of their country."

It was now time to return, especially as I had promised to visit a Notable and large landowner, whose village I had passed on my way.

We had again to cross the Stygian lake in Chàron's boat, but this time we took good care to be provided with punting poles. My host insisted on accompanying me back. On reaching Telwane, we had to pick our way between an extensive stagnant pool, a relic of the inundation, and the mud walls of the village. The waters were already green, and their quality still further impaired by an infusion of dead dogs and cats, and

other similar ingredients. I saw a native damsel filling the domestic pitcher at its edge, and I devoutly hoped it might not be for the purpose of making the inevitable coffee for my entertainment. We were met by the hospitable Notable, several of his sons, and a group of village elders all arrayed in their cleanest turbans and best flowered dressing-gowns.

They conducted us to a fine-looking house of two stories with some attempt at architectural dandyism, and as I dismounted they insisted on kissing my hand in addition to the customary salaam. We entered a passage, to the right of which was a large chamber decorated with two or three mirrors of considerable size, carpeted with Kidderminster, and garnished with ottomans along three of the walls.

The Notable, a man of noble appearance, who looked as if he had a dash of the Bedouin in him, placed me on his right hand, and the elders distributed themselves cross-legged upon the ottomans. Then followed mutual complimentary speeches and good wishes, accompanied by cigarettes. Presently native attendants came in, bearing a large gilt tray covered with brocade embroidered in gold. As this was presented to me another servant withdrew this gorgeous cover, revealing sweetmeats, and cups of syrup, cakes, and English biscuits. I might make my choice of the other things, but the syrup was a *sine quâ non*. I tried to look cheerful, but succeeded badly, remembering the stagnant pool and the damsel. Moreover, the syrup was muddy of aspect, and I felt sure that under the oxyhydrogen microscope the revelations would have been awful. However, a score or so of inquisitive beady black eyes were fixed upon me from beneath half as many turbans, and so there was

no escape. I sipped the nectar, which was heavily dosed with attar of roses, and I wasn't ill. Fortunately one is not required to take much more than a sip or two. My host was specially proud of his Palmer's biscuits, and I welcomed them with joy, for I began to feel the pangs of hunger, having had nothing but the lightest of refreshments for many hours. The sun was getting low, so excusing myself we all set out for Bershoum together, forming rather a large cavalcade, for the Notable's notions of hospitality would not allow him to leave me till he had seen me safe on board the *Benisouef*.

On the way we conversed much, but with some difficulty, for we had to ride in single file along the embankments. Most of the party were mounted on horses with carpet housings and shovel stirrups. The saddles are very comfortable.

Amongst other things he told me that he owned 600 acres of land; that he attached no value whatever to the connection of Egypt with Turkey, but, on the contrary, wished for its independence of the Porte. Neither did he relish a mixture of Christian nations busying themselves about the affairs of his country; he especially condemned the international tribunals. He did not mind England temporarily occupying Egypt for the purpose of reforming the administration. He had a supreme contempt for the Chamber of Notables. They were the nominees of the Mudir, and the Mudir of the Government. He complained much of the practice of changing the Mudirs with every change of Government, as it prevented their taking any interest in the improvement of their provinces, or caring to win the love and esteem of the inhabitants; and as their tenure of office was temporary and precarious, they

only looked to make the most of their time, and fill their purses. It is true the same Mudir may be reappointed; but, as a general rule, whenever an entire change of Ministers occurred, the Mudir was also changed.

He did not consider the Land Tax excessive; but it was very unequally assessed, being too high on some lands, too low on others. One would have thought that in an entirely alluvial soil the quality would be much alike; but that is not the case; it differs very greatly in quality and value: a fact not easy to account for.

He confirmed the statements of others that the Land Tax had been fixed at the very beginning of the reign of the late Khedive, at its present rates, and had never since been raised: there was scarcely any public debt at that time, but the Land Tax had not been raised in consequence of the vast debt since created.

He complained very much of the privileged lands which paid only one third the land tax exacted from the ordinary landowners. These estates belonged to wealthy Pashas, and were often of immense extent. These partially exempted lands were called Oushourieh; their owners had been Court favourites, and lands taken away from the fellahs arbitrarily on one pretence or other had been given to them. One pretext for plunder he described as follows:—On some occasion there was a new survey made, and it was found that very generally the farms were larger than set forth in the registers kept for taxation purposes. A man, for instance, might be paying tax on 100 acres, and in the official valuation he might be assessed at 100 acres, when, by measurement, his farm is 125 acres in extent. The Government

seized the surplus of twenty-five acres, and granted it to Court favourites. This went on all over the country, and large estates were thus carved out of the property of the farmers, and a lower rate of Land tax, P. T. 40 per feddan, fixed upon them. If all lands were rated equally, an important reduction in the general scale of taxation would result.

He estimated the extent of these privileged estates at one million and a half feddans.\* The fellahs would pay their tax more contentedly if this unjust inequality did not exist; they would also have to pay less than they do now.

I may mention, however, that I learned from other sources that some of these lands, especially in the Province of Baheireh, have a more reasonable right to exemption; they were lands reclaimed in the reign of Mehemet Ali, on the special condition of partial exemption.

Our discourse was several times interrupted by having to cross canals, &c. Ultimately we reached the river bank, and mutual leave-taking was the order of the day. The whole village assembled to witness the ceremony. They would hear of no remuneration for the use of their horses, and indeed seemed offended at any hint of such a thing. The Captain had had steam up for some time, and the moment we were on board the paddles revolved, and we steered into the middle of the stream amid the courteous salaams of the population.

\* It is actually 1,300,000 acres; about one-fourth of the whole cultivated land of Egypt.



## CHAPTER IV.

The City of Honey—A Noisy Dormitory—Waterside Scenes—The Ruins of Athribis—Visit from a native Grandee ; his Opinions—Modern Bastilles.

THE *Benisouef* steamed about 16 miles down stream, and arrived after dark at the important town of Benha. We had adjured the captain to select the quietest place he could find to anchor at, but his choice was not fortunate, for right opposite us was a landing place, at which a number of camels were squatting in a circle, awaiting the arrival of a cargo of cotton. They seemed to be holding a council of war, and were evidently abusing their masters terribly, judging from the deep grumbling, rumbling sounds they emitted. Then there were the town dogs, who thought it their duty to join in the chorus ; and as I dropped off to sleep I dreamt that I was wandering amongst the interminable mazes of a zoological garden of boundless extent, with all the animals in a furious state of excitement.

Next morning we were up betimes to make a survey of our surroundings, which were rather striking. A considerable percentage of the population also were assembled to stare at the *Benisouef*, and speculate on her errand while smoking their morning pipes. Included among them were swarms of nearly naked children, who perched themselves on the piles of cotton bales



THE SUEZ CANAL. KANTARA.

12/2/07



that lined the shore. The waterside presented a lively appearance, and offered a good opportunity of studying native ways. Water-carriers loaded with pig-skins were conspicuous among the throng; alongside them were women washing clothes, and girls with water-jars. A miscellaneous assortment of the population were washing their feet along the edge. There appeared to be a superstition among the water-carriers in favour of filling their skins and jars *below* the laundresses and bathers, a spectacle which caused us to give instant orders that all our reservoirs on board should be emptied out and not refilled until we were in mid-stream.

Long-necked camels came and went, staggering beneath cotton bales, and having only too good reason for the chorus of grumbling which they kept up, as is the manner of their kind. It is the only consolation they have in life. Men and donkeys also took part in the fray, the usual arrangement being the quadruped in the middle, his head and tail only protruding beneath a huge bale weighing about three hundred-weight, supported right and left by a couple of men steadying the load, and each exerting a lifting power of about five pounds at either end, under the delusion that they were lending important assistance. The cotton was brought for shipment from the ginning mills hard by, where it had been duly combed and separated from seed and pods. These mills varied the prospect by adding a group of tall factory chimneys, which, though not quite so picturesque as minarets, yet helped to break the skyline. Immediately above us was a magnificent railway bridge, which carries the Alexandria and Zagazig line across the Nile. To the left, looking south, were the extensive ruins of the ancient city of Athribis, the Hâ-ta-

ab-ra of the Pharaohs. It is traversed by a straight street nearly a mile in length, which is crossed at right angles again at the middle by another, 1200 yards long. This arrangement is of very remote date, and was characteristic of all ancient Egyptian cities. It is the origin of the hieroglyph for a town—the circle with a cross inscribed. In 1852 Abbas Pasha caused a palace to be built in the neighbourhood, and much stone was taken from the ruins. It was extracted from the great temple of Horus which once existed here. During the excavations many antiquities were unearthed; they are now deposited in the Museum Borelli at Marseilles and at the Louvre. On some of the stones were cartouches of kings of the 25th and 26th Dynasties—Psammeticus the 1st and Sabaco, also several Ptolemies and Cæsars. The Jews and Greeks in the town offer for sale various minor antiquities found in the neighbourhood. On the right bank of the river is the entrance to the Canal of Moses. This is now one of the feeders of the Sweet Water Canal, which flows through Zagazig to Ismailieh and Suez.

The complete name of the town is Benhâ'-el-Assal—the City of Honey. This article is raised in large quantities in the district for export. Benha is an important cotton depôt, and has extensive steam ginning mills. We had an early visit from the Governor, who offered to escort us through the town and show us the lions. I am afraid we walked the old gentleman about much more than suited his Oriental tastes; moreover the day was hot, and he perspired freely. We strolled through the markets and bazaars, visited the shops and made some purchases; we crossed the railway bridge and surveyed the Canal of Moses, as also the

huge piles of brick buildings that form the remnant of the city of Pharaohs, Ptolemies and Cæsars.

We conversed much the while. Part of our conversation ran as follows :—

*Q.* What is your opinion of the Mixed Tribunals ?—

*A.* I think they ought to be abolished. They are very unpopular, because they inflict ruinous costs upon suitors. They have increased the despotic power of the usurers by abrogating the only protection the fellahs had against them. Formerly no fellah could be deprived of his land unless he himself became a consenting party, now he can be sold up at the suit of the money-lenders. This is a double evil ; it promotes the usury business, the remedy being so summary and security so certain, and it establishes in the heart of the fellah a wrong over which he broods. The old law ought to be restored.

The Tribunals have done some good ; the collection of taxes is much more honestly effected now. Now every man knows how much he has to pay. A paper is furnished him—an official printed document setting forth the amount. It is within the last three years that that reform has been instituted ; but the change in the land law for which they are responsible, and the costliness of proceedings before them, more than outweighs in the minds of the people any benefits they have conferred. It was owing to the influence of the French that the old land law was changed. Besides, they favour foreigners, and are biassed against natives.

I consider that the indebtedness of the fellahs is a most urgent and pressing evil of the present crisis. A rapid process of transfer is taking place of the property, *i.e.*, the land, of the native Egyptians, to Greeks and

Syrians, and other Christian usurers. You see them in every village almost in this district, occupying the land which lately belonged to natives. This causes resentment and ill-will, and the burthen of their debts discourages the fellahs and disheartens them. Their land is put up for sale, and the usurer buys it in at a nominal price.

The value of an acre of land of medium quality in my district is about £30, and many a man might liquidate his debts by selling part of his farm, and then the rest would be free. This might be done if only time were given. It takes time to realise the value of land here, but the usurers and the Courts give no time, and one's people are unjustly robbed.

Q. Do you think that a law of bankruptcy would succeed here?—A. I do not think such a law would be suitable, because the people would swear falsely.

I think that the evil might be remedied, or at least diminished, by a system of taking over the land by the Government at a fair valuation. I think some such system would be very valuable.

Q. Do you think that the Suez Canal has injured Egypt or benefited it?—A. I think that it has decidedly benefited Egypt. I think that on the whole there is a decided advance in the prosperity of Egypt.

Q. You seem to consider the indebtedness of the fellahs the most serious problem of the present time. Have you provided any estimate of the total amount of their debts?—A. Yes; it is estimated to amount to two-thirds of the National Debt—I mean the external debt of Egypt; and upon this vast sum, interest varying from 3 to 5, 8, and even 10 per cent. per month is either paid or is accumulating, and increasing the

indebtedness at an alarming rate. It is much aggravated by the events of the rebellion. The fellahs have, in a large proportion of cases, had to borrow at enhanced rates of interest in order to pay the land tax. They were often deprived of the live stock which would have enabled them to pay without borrowing had they not been taken from them by Arabi's orders. Their lands are valuable, and if time were allowed they could sell a portion of them to clear off the debt from the rest.

We were accompanied everywhere by a couple of soldiers with drawn swords, who, to do us honour, and also to impress the townsmen with a sufficient sense of our importance, beat all the natives who got in the way with the flat of their swords, notwithstanding our remonstrances.

After we had walked His Excellency nearly off his legs, we begged and entreated of him to take some rest, and to let us prowl about the town on our own account. Thus adjured he introduced us to the Governor of the prison, and retired to take a siesta in his palace.

The prison is a great court-yard surrounded by high walls, with chambers opening into it. There were about 100 prisoners there, all handcuffed and manacled, squatting listlessly about or leaning despondingly against the doors of their cells. The place was very clean; the cells contained no furniture whatever; the convicts slept on the ground as best they could. The floors of yard and cells were all earthen.

Some of the men were very ill-favoured, and looked fit and ready for any crime. Some of them were murderers who had been concerned in the massacres which had taken place here a few months before, others had the appearance of peaceable well-conducted



men. When we entered they all rose to their feet amid a general clanking of chains; this was out of respect for the Governor, who had such absolute and despotic power over them. As a matter of fact, all are not criminals; there are some whose misfortune rather than their fault had brought them there. Egyptian prisons are Bastilles in which men in power immure arbitrarily those who have offended them, or whom they have any motive in getting out of the way. They are sent there without trial or enquiry under *lettres de cachet*; and there they may remain for years, forgotten, perhaps, by the tyrant who sent them thither, and without means or opportunity of bringing their case to the notice of those who might obtain tardy justice and release for them. The system of imprisonment in Egypt is one that urgently demands reform.

We paid a second visit to the bridge, where I wished to find out, now that I had escaped from the Governor, what was the history of the detention of a number of country craft which I had observed. I found it to be that they had to pay toll for the privilege of passing *under* the railway bridge!

To make sure of the truth of this statement, I accompanied the sailors up to a little office where I saw them pay the tolls and receive in return paper permits to pass.

They complained that they were often detained there a long time when it did not suit the collector's convenience to attend to his duties.

The Governor invited us to his house to have some refreshment, but as we were anxious to get on, we begged him to excuse us; he came, however, attended by a retinue, to take leave, and see us off.

## CHAPTER V.

Delta scenery contrasted with that of Upper Egypt—Mit-el-Ess—Making a Night of it—A mixed Family—An oriental Topsy—Cure for the Evil Eye—Breakfast with a Village Chief—Irrigation in the Delta—Zifta—Native opinions there.

WE now got under way, and steamed at a rapid pace down stream.

The Delta scenery differs totally from that of Upper Egypt. The latter is a continuous valley fringed right and left by limestone cliffs, hills, and mountains, which give a never-ending variety to the panorama, whereas the former is perfectly flat, being in fact all alluvial deposit. It is also intersected in all directions by canals, a kind of oriental Holland. The banks of these form the only highways; strings of camels, and donkeys bestridden by Arabs, followed often by their womenkind carrying loads on their heads, wend their way along the narrow crowns of the embankments, and relieve the monotony of the prospect. The scenery is further varied by towns and villages, which follow each other in rapid succession. The towns are always picturesque, the many domes and tall and graceful minarets making one long to sketch them. The great number of towns, all busy and bustling, and the immense quantities of produce one sees—especially cotton—give one an idea of wealth and prosperity.

The surface of the river is diversified with Nile boats of all sizes, freighted with goods of many kinds, their tall

tapering spars giving the same charm to the water that the minarets and date palms do to the land. The light and colours of the Egyptian climate, beautiful at sunrise, even more beautiful at sunset, would make the flattest country in the world attractive, added to which the teeming and lively population of the Delta contributes its interest, just as the plainest face may be redeemed by a beautiful complexion and an animated expression. In the interior the landscape derives variety from numerous villages and hamlets embowered in groves of palms.

We passed Mit Bereh, a large town at which the river takes a sharp turn towards the East, and we moored for the night at a group of trees just above the hamlet of Mit-el-Ess. Wherever we stopped for the night the inhabitants were bound to furnish a guard of two or three watchmen; it was the first matter arranged with the village elders. They came down presently and lighted a fire amongst the palm trees on the bank, and were soon joined by our crew. At Benha I had made the latter a present of half a stone of tobacco, and this furnished an excuse for holding a fantasia in our honour. They danced round the fire to the music of a drum made of parchment stretched over an earthen pot, they also sang impromptu songs in which allusions were made to us, and they alternated these performances by squatting round the fire and smoking many a pipe. The play of the firelight on their picturesque figures and swarthy rugged faces, and on the stems and foliage of the palms around, produced most artistic painters' effects. Next morning I was waited on by the owner of a steam-pump close by, who invited me to visit his house; he was accompanied by the village elders, so we

all landed and marched along the crown of the embankment towards a European-looking building. Our host was a Syrian money lender, and as usual had added field to field, until he had become a considerable landed proprietor, and the owner of a steam-pump, which irrigated his farm as well as those of his neighbours, the latter of course for a consideration.

We were shown into his residence, and taken upstairs to his wife's bedroom ! (perhaps the saloon was full of cotton). We were received there by the lady of the house, and were introduced to his son and daughter—half-grown young people. The lineage of the family was mixed, the head of it had a Syrian father, but his mother had been a daughter of one of Napoleon's soldiers ; the mother, our hostess, was an Armenian lady ; the problem therefore with regard to the aforesaid young persons is whether they are to be considered Syrian, French, or Armenian.

We were waited on by a Nubian slave girl from the Soudan, black as night ; she had been captured while very young in a slave hunting expedition, in which both her parents had been killed : this early tragedy had not however affected her spirits, she seemed as light-hearted as if she had had the happiest childhood in the world—an oriental Topsy.

Part of the room was occupied by a couple of tent bedsteads with snowy drapery and mosquito curtains. Our hostess with much pride produced some tea, which she claimed to be English.

Our visit over, we adjourned to inspect the pumping works. We were joined outside by the Sheik of the village, who wore a green turban to notify to the world that he was a descendant of the Prophet. There were

also several of the elders ; one of them was a Copt, and exhibited his wrist with the Cross tattooed upon it.

The steam pump was an old-fashioned affair ; it had been on duty here for eighteen years. It was only six-horse power, but even so it sufficed to irrigate 100 acres of land. He told me that Arabi had taken from him one horse, two camels, and 62 ardebs of wheat (310 bushels) but that no allowance was made to him in his taxes on that account. His Land tax was 150 P.T. per feddan. After I had gone over his farm, I crossed the river to make a tour of inspection on the other side, and was met on landing by the Sheik of a village called Taphana-el-Azar, a fine-looking old gentleman with a flowing beard. On our way to his house I observed a camel, the belly of which was covered with terrible scars. I enquired what had happened to it. " Oh," said my host, " it met with the evil eye and got the colic : and so we fired its belly to burn out the bad spirit."

Most likely the true cause of the colic was an empty stomach and too much work. What tortures the poor victim of superstition must have endured !

Our party gathered volume like a snowball as we went, and by the time we arrived at the Sheik's residence we had a retinue of fully a score. We were ushered into a large barrack room with clay walls and the usual ottomans around. My host said among other things :—

We bless England for her intervention ; we refused to carry out the orders of Arabi. There is comparatively little debt here ; we have always set our faces against the usurers ; we lend money to our villagers ourselves on moderate terms when we think they need

it. (Let us hope the conditions were as disinterested as his language implied.)

If you want to know our opinion on all questions of reform, summon us together ; summon all Notables throughout Egypt together in one great assembly, and ask us our views. We would abolish all exemptions on Oushurieh lands (the privileged lands).

We condemn the sheep tax.

We do not consider our present land tax too high ; we pay here P. T. 163 per feddan ; prices of almost all produce are higher now than formerly.

During the rebellion boys used to run through the villages crying, " No more usurers ; no more debts ; no more taxes. Welcome to Arabi." They were paid to do it. The villagers who had nothing for Arabi to take were beaten.

The neighbouring townland is 2500 feddans ; there are debts of about £10,000 due to usurers on it.

While this conversation was going on, attendants brought in an immense brass tray about five feet in diameter, and set it on a stand in the middle of the room. Upon this they placed saucers of honey and cream, while within the rim, cakes of bread were arranged all along the outer circumference as close as they could be placed.

Stools were set round the tray, and the master of the house, rising, invited us to join him at breakfast. He politely requested me to begin. I broke off a piece of bread and dipped it first into the cream, which weakened its constitution, and then into the honey, in which it broke off and stuck fast. The natives were much amused at my ignorance, and demonstrated to me by example how to do it. They dipped their bread first into the honey and then

into the cream, and finally crammed it into their mouths. Thus enlightened, I did likewise, and achieved success.

After we had finished, attendants brought round a brass jug, basin, and napkin, and poured water over our hands. A much needed ceremony; for Egyptian honey, especially when eaten with the fingers, is not less sticky than the same article in Europe. We visited some farms in the neighbourhood and got all the information we could on agricultural matters, and then returned to the *Benisouef*. My host, however, insisted on my accepting a large tin, holding about a gallon of honey, an article for which his village is famous, as its name implies. We kept this souvenir for a considerable time, out of a sentimental regard for the memory of the donor, but it brought upon us a plague of flies, and was ultimately allowed to disappear unmourned for, and with our tacit consent.

The land hereabouts is fertile.

The Delta differs in one very important particular from Middle and Upper Egypt: it is embanked, so that in the inundation it is not submerged, cultivation and cropping proceed, therefore, uninterruptedly throughout the twelve months.

Cotton can be grown everywhere, and constitutes the most valuable crop of all. It is worth from 15*l.* to 20*l.* per acre, and a heavy crop of the finest staple is even worth as much as 25*l.* per acre. It is commonly followed within the same year by a crop of wheat worth 5*l.*, or by a fodder crop worth 4*l.*, so that the value of the gross produce of an acre for the season may be worth from 20*l.* to 25*l.*, but cotton cannot be grown on the same land two years in succession; it would exhaust the soil too much.

The following season the land is usually cropped with green fodder, fed off by sheep and other live stock, followed again by maize or dourra, and that again by wheat, *i.e.*, three crops within the year, worth together about 12*l.* Other crops are beans, lentils, and various leguminous plants.

If the conditions under which the fellah of the Delta holds his land be compared with those to which English farmers are subject, the contrast will appear enormously in favour of the former.

One year with another, his crops are worth about 14*l.* per annum, whereas our cultivator's best crop, *viz.*, his wheat, cannot be estimated as worth more than 12*l.*, and that is above the average. The fellah's land tax (his rent) amounts at most to 1*l.* 13*s.* per acre; the Englishman's rent is from 2*l.* to 2*l.* 10*s.*, and he has heavy taxes to pay in addition.

Cotton could be grown every second year if the means of irrigation were sufficient, but as a general rule, owing to insufficient water supply, it is grown only every third year, *i.e.*, not more than one-third of any farm is under cotton at the same time.

At the height of the inundation the Nile is above the general level of the cultivated land, and the water can be admitted by sluices in regulated quantities.

During the rest of the year water is raised either by steam-power or by water-wheels.

It costs about £30 to set up a water-wheel ("sakiyeh"), but that sum does not include the cattle which work it. A water-wheel, driven by a pair of buffaloes, suffices to irrigate 10 acres for the season, provided they work day and night. To do this, two shifts of men and cattle are necessary.



A 10 horse-power steam-engine suffices for the season. It is a common practice for several fellahs to club together and buy a pumping-engine amongst them. After paying the first cost, the partners meet working expenses by a payment of 8s. per acre for each watering. If their own land does not exhaust the power of the machine, they undertake to irrigate the land of their neighbours also, who are not partners, at a rate from 16s. to £1 per acre for each watering.

It may be expected that, with increasing prosperity, these partnerships will become more numerous, and the Government could not promote the prosperity of the fellahs and increase the productivity of the country more effectually than by advancing them a reasonable interest to help them to purchase pumping-engines. The cotton crops especially would be improved by increased irrigation, because not so much weight of cotton per acre, but the quality also depends upon abundant water. Scantily-watered plants produce short-staple cotton, worth less than P. T. 1 kantar; the same plants, with abundant water, produce long-staple cotton, worth P.T. 420 kantar and also a far greater weight.

Pumping-engines would be much more numerous for the impoverishing of the fellahs by the exorbitant rates of the late reign, and by the extravagant interest paid on the sums borrowed to meet those exorbitant rates.

If the Government can see its way to convert these debts into their own hands at moderate interest, the fellahs would devote their improved means to the purchase of pumping-engines.

The fellahs consider 1 per cent. per month





moderate interest, and would gladly pay it. At present they are paying from 42 to 65 per cent. per annum, and even more. I have met with instances of 100 and even 120 per cent. per annum being charged.

One complaint often made to me on the subject of irrigation in the Delta is that the canals run dry at the critical season of the year, and when the quantity and quality of the cotton crop are most seriously affected by any deficiency in the water supply. This grave defect might be remedied by deepening the canals, and it might also be possible to keep them full by the same means adopted for the supply of the Mahmoudieh Canal, viz., by powerful pumping-engines.

If this could be done, the productiveness of the Delta might be enormously increased.

Some time after leaving Mit-el-Ess we passed between Zifta and Mitgammr, twin towns on opposite sides of the Nile. At Zifta some tumbledown-looking wooden balconies overhung the stream; but they were rendered beautiful in their decay by great masses of Bougainvillea in full blossom, which covered them with a glory of colour, and hung gracefully over the water in long tresses. The balconies belonged to various Arab and Greek coffee-houses, and were occupied by groups of men, coffee-drinking and smoking, who viewed us with much curiosity as we passed beneath them.

Both towns were rendered picturesque by many domes and minarets, and the mud-walls of the houses along the river front were enlivened by bright-coloured shutters, and by the cotton-stuffs at sundry dye-works, which were hanging out to dry. We visited Zifta on our return voyage, and were made welcome by the

Governor, who came on board accompanied by a Notable. They made the following statements as we sipped our coffee under the awning.

Our Townland consists of three thousand acres; the fellahs are all in debt to usurers. I enquired whether they could furnish me with an estimate of the proportion of indebtedness. The Governor, after consultation with the Notable, said that on many farms the debt did not fall short of £10 per acre, on some it was as high as £15. They added that it had increased quite recently because the fellahs had had to borrow to meet the land tax for the current season. Interest was demanded at the rate of from 3 to 5 per cent. per month. It much exceeded the land tax, for it amounted to from 400 to 600 piastres per acre, whereas the latter was only 160 P. T. per acre.

Q. Have the fellahs any chance of paying this off?—

A. No; they pay what they can on account. The debt is made so complicated that the fellahs cannot understand how much they owe. The usurers take all they can get out of them.

They are, in fact, the tributaries of the usurer. They can scarcely call anything their own. (The Notable :) That is exactly their position. (The Governor concurred.)

Q. Why had they to borrow more than usual this season?—A. Because the worm has destroyed a serious proportion of the cotton crop, and because of the revolution.

Q. What was the secret of Arabi's popularity?—A. Because he promised to cancel all their debts and to banish the usurers.

Q. Is there a National party in the country?—A.

Not that we know of. It was only the Military party who raised that cry.

Q. Do you regard the Sultan as the Head of your religion ?

(They seemed rather perplexed, and gave an undecided answer. In reply to further questions, they stated they did not attach any particular value to the Turkish connection, but that they must have a Mahommedan Ruler ; they were content with their Khedive.)

We afterwards went through the bazaar of the town, which was of very ordinary character. We bought some gay-coloured cottons, under the delusion that they were of native production, but what was our mortification to learn, too late, that they were importations from Manchester, made specially for the Oriental market !

## CHAPTER VI.

Shylock's Palace—His Victim's Home—Some Effects of the Mixed Tribunals—The Village Debt Question—A Wedding Party Afloat.

JUST outside many of the Delta villages may be observed a superior house, built in European style: the walls stained cream-colour, or pale blue, or rose pink, with bright green Venetian blinds; a great improvement on the raw mud-brick structures which form the staple of native dwellings. These edifices will always be found on enquiry to belong to the local money-lender, Greek, Syrian, Armenian, or Jewish. He is sure to plant himself wherever the soil is extra fertile, and the neighbourhood extra advantageous.

I shall describe the surroundings of one of these, which I visited during a ride inland from the Nile in the province of Menoufieh. The owner, a Greek, was absent, but his steward showed us over the house, which was fitted up with European furniture and French mirrors; the upper storey was reached by a stone staircase outside the building. We afterwards visited the vineyard and gardens, and then adjourned to the farm yard; here were stables in which camels, buffaloes, and horses were stalled, a miscellaneous lot. Everything around betokened prosperity and abundance; of course there was a steam-pump of the best and newest construction. There could scarcely be a more striking contrast

than the conditions presented by the neighbouring village. As soon as we were out of earshot of the steward, the villagers informed me that all the farm lands attached to this mansion had once belonged to them, and had been absorbed by means of usurious mortgages and foreclosures in the International Tribunals, effected far away in Cairo, where ignorance and want of friends rendered the poor victims helpless; yet they had been really solvent, and had time only been allowed, could have disposed of small portions of their lands, and paid off their debts which had been contracted during the exactions of the late reign.

It had now come to this, that while the foreign usurer had become a wealthy landed proprietor, not one of the natives had more than about a dozen acres left.

The Sheik invited me to his house, which presented indications of his fallen fortunes; it was small and poverty-stricken; the invariable ottomans in his reception room were of dried mud, their nakedness covered with ragged pieces of carpet and sacking. The walls were stencilled in a peculiar way. The house decorator employed had evidently been enjoined to practise economy; he had, therefore, simply provided a bucket of whitewash, and dipping his hand into it had then planted his palm and five fingers flat on the mud-plastered surface. By a repetition of this process he had covered the walls with a pattern, which, if not æsthetic, was cheap, for it had not even involved the necessity of a brush: this original decoration completed, he had only to dip his hand into a bucket of water to divest it of its unwonted whiteness, and restore to it its customary dingy hue.

My host apologised for the poor surroundings with



the courtly air of an oriental Master of Ravenswood, and offered me all he had—a long-stemmed pipe without a mouthpiece; over this we sat and chatted along with several other villagers, until we were interrupted by a message that the tax-gatherer had arrived; an event which produced as damping an effect upon the company as when Don Juan was *come for* in the middle of his feast. I took a sad and sympathetic leave of the poor fellows: decidedly that was not a flourishing community. That Christian establishment close by, was sucking out their very life-blood, like a tumour or a wen, which draws to itself the juices of the whole body until all is exhausted. The time could not be far off when every peasant proprietor there will be reduced to the position of a labourer on the Greek's all-devouring estate. The process of adding house to house and field to field "until there be no room" is not, however, a new one, it dates back to Bible days; it is mentioned in the sacred book, but it will not be found amongst the beatitudes. It has been brought into vigorous life in Egypt of late years by the operation of the International Tribunals. No feature of the social condition of the Delta forced itself more prominently on my notice throughout my tour of enquiry in its provinces, than this question of the indebtedness of the fellahs in connection with the new tribunals; and I may as well take this opportunity of summing up the conclusions it forced upon me.

All the witnesses agreed that the usurers—Greek, Syrian, and Jewish—have been the main cause of the hatred with which the Christians were regarded during the rebellion of Arabi; that they have dealt most mercilessly with the fellahs, entangling them in a hope-

less net of indebtedness, and using their power to possess themselves of their lands. They say that at first there was no sympathy whatever for Arabi, and that it was not till he issued a manifesto promising that, if successful, their debts should be cancelled, and their enemies, the usurers, banished for ever, that his power became formidable.

The money-lenders are at this moment extorting 3, 4, and 5 per cent. per month of four weeks for the sums owing or claimed, *i.e.*, from 39 to 65 per cent. per annum. They have woven around them a tangled network of debt which no Colenso could unravel—the moderate sum originally advanced, compound interest at exorbitant rates, sums advanced successively since, with their interests, the reckoning further complicated by sums paid on account, no receipts being given. The fellahs have long ago abandoned in despair the task of comprehending their financial position, with its hopeless intricacies, and only feel that they have nothing that they can call their own.

In numerous instances these ruthless creditors have used the power thus acquired to possess themselves of the land of the fellahs. The natives attribute to the Mixed Tribunals the aggravation of their troubles which has occurred within recent years. They assert that a custom existed from time immemorial that no fellah could be deprived of his land by a creditor except with his own consent. This was a great protection to him, for it made it impossible for the creditor to sell him up and take possession of his farm at a price far below its value.

This ancient right was, they assert, abolished arbitrarily by the Mixed Tribunals, with the result that the

fellahs are being dispossessed of their lands, and the state of feeling amongst them in consequence is such as to be a constant danger to the peace of Egypt. I have taken great pains to arrive at something like a trustworthy approximation to the total amount of the domestic debt in the Delta. I need not trouble my readers with the details of the calculation, but the conclusion I have arrived at is that it does not *exceed* £10,000,000, although the estimates of educated native gentlemen with whom I conversed were very much higher. I believe it to be rather less than more.

Upon this probably from £4,000,000 to £5,000,000 are paid annually in interest, *i.e.*, much more than the land tax; but if, by establishing district loan banks, as suggested by the most intelligent of the natives themselves, the interest were reduced to 10 per cent., the total annual interest would be reduced to about £1,000,000; thus the fellah would be relieved to the extent of about £4,000,000 per annum, a sum far exceeding the amount of the land tax payable in the Delta. I found that the lands freest from debt were the rice-swamps that fringe the Delta to the north; they owe £2 per feddan only on an average.\*

But it must not be supposed that because they only owe £2 per feddan therefore the consequences are insignificant. On the £2 they pay an annual interest of over £1; their land tax is only P. T. 90. Even here, therefore, where the indebtedness is at its lowest, the interest exceeds the land tax, and the people of the rice-swamps are as eager as everywhere else to reduce their interest by loan banks or other means.

\* These figures are based upon calculations of interest at 4 per cent. per month of four weeks, the most common rate stated to me by the natives.

The Koran forbids usury; it will be seen, therefore, that the usury question offers a handle to fanaticism, and that the latter may become formidable through the former. It is obvious, also, how the usury evil clashes alike with the interests of the Imperial revenue of Egypt and with the claims of the bondholders.

It seems monstrous that a comparatively small minority of foreigners should lay a heavier tax upon the fellaheen than the Imperial Government; and that, while the foreign bondholders are receiving only 4 per cent. per annum on their loans, the usurers should receive 4 or 5 per cent. per month of four weeks, *i.e.*, from thirteen to sixteen times as much interest.

Nor is the bearing of this question less important upon the progress and prosperity of the country, and the development of its resources. The fellahs are too heavily handicapped to have a fair chance. They are also treated with great injustice. Land worth £30 or £40 per acre is sold by forced sale by the creditors for a debt of perhaps £10 per acre or less; the fellah is dispossessed, and his land absorbed by the money-lender. This operation takes place in Cairo, too often beyond his reach, and the owner and his friends, ignorant of the technicalities of the Foreign Tribunals, are helpless. They sometimes attend with the view of buying in the land, but they do not understand what is going on, and the land is knocked down to their creditors before they are aware that it has been put up for sale.

Let it be borne in mind that we have been accessory to that act of the European Tribunal scheme which

arbitrarily changed the old native Organic Law precluding creditors from dispossessing any man of his land for any debt, unless with his consent; that the domestic debt was founded, and its conditions as to interest fixed in view of this old Law, an excessively high scale of interest being imposed by the money-lenders, and agreed to by the debtors, because the security was bad. As Sheriffs' sales of land for debt were not permitted, except by agreement with the debtors, the lender had no solid security for his advances. He relied on getting out of his debtor all he could exact by constant worrying, but in the last resort he could not take his land. The natives assert that we changed all this; that, by a despotic act, we have overridden native custom, and forcibly given to the creditor, without his debtor's consent, a first-rate security. He can now make sure of having either his money or the land. We have converted these ill-secured debts into first-class land mortgages. Arabi drove out these pauperizers of the people, but we have brought them back by force of arms. We first of all were accessory to the creation of the evil, and then we prevented the remedy. I could discern in the minds of the natives a disposition to throw the responsibility upon us, and to take the view that our military power was being converted into a shield beneath which foreign usurers are enabled to extort interest at the rate of from 39 to 65 per cent. per annum, with the alternative of obtaining possession of the land by summary process. But irrespective of these considerations, do not our own interests render it imperatively necessary to deal with this question of the domestic debt? I apprehend, from what I have heard from the natives, that the domestic

debt is a constant source of danger to the peace of Egypt, through the discontent it occasions. But besides that, it comes into mischievous competition both with the Imperial taxation and with the claims of the bondholders.

Finally, the appeals of the fellahs for relief deserve consideration, on the grounds both of humanity and of justice. This much-oppressed class were originally brought into the power of the usurers by no fault of their own, but by the cruel, unjust, tyrannical exactions of the past, when men who had already paid their land tax for the year were required, under the torture of the bastinado, to pay it a second time, which they could only do by borrowing. They are therefore peculiarly entitled to such a measure of liquidation as shall make them free men, and give them a fresh start and a fair start.

The debts to which my remarks relate are the so-called *unsecured* debts. There is another class, secured by formal deeds of mortgage and bearing comparatively moderate interest; these are registered. Their amount and rate of interest can be readily ascertained, and they are chiefly held by banks and credit institutes; but the great mass of village debts belong to the unsecured category. They are not registered; their total amount is therefore matter of conjecture, and the rate of interest varies exceedingly, as may be gathered from the conversations I have quoted. As far as security goes, the difference is only nominal, because the usurers can at any time convert the most informal I O U's into effective mortgages by going before the Mixed Tribunals at Cairo. Their debtor may be summoned to appear and identify his signature. If he acknowledges

it the debt becomes a mortgage ; if he does not appear, the case goes against him by default.

It must not be supposed that the condition of the village last described represents the average state of the Delta—it was exceptional ; there is much prosperity in that region in spite of the usurers—still such plague spots are sufficiently numerous to demand the attention of those responsible for the welfare of the people. The disease is spreading, and if something be not done to check it, must have evil consequences.

Towards evening we passed a large boat crossing the Nile with a wedding party on board. In the centre was a gaily-coloured canopy, as brilliant and varied in hues as that which figures in Plate II. ; but it was doing duty under much more festive circumstances, for it concealed the heroine of a wedding party. Within it the bride was hidden. She alone took no part in the merry-making, and saw nothing of the pageant instituted in her own honour. The bridesmaids sat around it, chattering incessantly ; the occupants of that ferry were a merry laughing crew. The whole spectacle recalled many a bas-relief on the monuments in which boats fill such a conspicuous place. At sunset we arrived at Mansourah.

## CHAPTER VII.

**The City of Victory—A Native Market-day—Visit from the Consul—Excursion to a Ruined Temple—Talka, its townsmen and their views—A Turkish General—A Bedouin Chieftain—His opinions.**

ON reaching Mansourah we anchored opposite the market-place, a large open space sloping down to the river. A fair was going on and presented an animated scene. Mansourah is a considerable town, and even now, though in a decaying condition, it contains 16,000 inhabitants. Its name in Arabic means The Victorious. It was founded at the time of the Crusades, after a victory obtained over the Franks at Talka on the opposite side of the Nile. The position of the camp of the Crusaders is still pointed out where a canal enters the river. About a quarter of a century after its foundation Louis the Ninth of France was taken prisoner here, after his disastrous defeat. This monarch, during a serious illness, had vowed that if restored to health he would devote himself to the Crusades. On his way out to Palestine he landed in Egypt and took Damietta. He then advanced southward, but met with a severe reverse opposite Mansourah; he fell into the hands of the Moslems, who compelled him to surrender Damietta, and to pay a heavy ransom for his release. Mansourah is the capital of the Province Dakalieh. Like all other towns of the Delta, it is rendered picturesque by minarets



and domes, and it contains a Coptic church. Coarse cotton stuffs are manufactured here, as well as linen fabrics. The market-place, which I have already mentioned, was occupied by a number of petty traders squatting on the ground with their wares before them. These consisted of dates, oranges, bananas, also various articles of hardware, such as knives and scissors. Others were selling piles of dried dung for fuel. In the centre were camels loaded with bundles of green fodder, dourra straw, bales of cotton, &c. Opposite the centre of the market-place there issued a sewer, which gave out a most abominable stench, poisoning the river in its neighbourhood; yet not far below I saw the water carriers filling their water skins for the use of the inhabitants. It is not surprising that the cholera held high carnival at Mansourah; the wonder is that it is ever absent.

Soon after our arrival we were called upon by the English Consul, who brought me official despatches from Cairo, with reference to my mission, and also offered very kindly to do anything in his power to aid us in our objects. While endeavouring to find him in town in order to return his visit, I made the acquaintance of some English merchants, who entertained me hospitably. One of them offered the use of his steam launch, to make an excursion up the river for a visit to the ruins of an ancient Egyptian city, and another offered the use of his horses. As the expedition would give me an opportunity of inspecting a new tract of country inland from the river, I decided on availing myself of their proposal.

Next morning the English Consul came to breakfast with us by invitation. He told us of some of the incon-

veniences of the international muddle which is made up of consular tribunals, international tribunals, capitulations, *et hoc genus omne*, and which has gone far to render government almost impossible in Egypt. The laws of naturalization there are such that Turkish subjects, and even native Egyptians can now obtain the privileges of foreigners, and evade the jurisdiction of the Egyptian Government; and Italians, Greeks, and Levantines may outrage the criminal and civil laws of the country they are residing in almost with impunity.

After breakfast the steam-launch so kindly placed at our disposal came alongside. It had a history, for during the rebellion it had been seized by Arabi, and used in Lake Menzaleh as a despatch boat. Subsequently its owner recovered possession of it, but it was decidedly the worse for its adventures; it had grown asthmatic, and was always ailing. We were accompanied by the Consul; our engineer was a negro, black as Erebus, who, after the manner of the country, dispensed with a fire shovel and used his hands instead: he administered alternate bites of bread and onion to himself, and of coal to the furnace with the same fingers, and with admirable impartiality. We did not get on very fast, for the stream was strong and the engine the reverse; moreover, something was always going wrong, now it was a bolt that worked loose, and anon a wedge or a pivot. At last we reached our destination, and had to scramble up a steep bank, on the crest of which two horses awaited us, and a large white donkey with a lady's saddle for my spouse. We were accompanied by several natives on foot. We crossed the usual country for some miles, sometimes along the crown of an embankment, sometimes across fields of green

crops or young wheat, or dourra stubble, or cotton straw. Part of the way we rode along the Tantah line between the rails, trusting to our luck not to meet the one train that daily traverses it ; not that the speed on Egyptian branch lines is so terrific that there would have been any difficulty in getting out of its way, on the contrary they proceed with truly Oriental deliberation.

The ruins we came to visit are situated about a mile to the north of the railway ; they consist of the mounds of an ancient city, embosomed in which is the temple of Isis, built of granite by Ptolemy Philadelphus.

The Pharaonic name of the place was " Pa-Heb-Te," " The Place of the Festival," corrupted by the Arabs into Behbeït, to which they added El Hagar, " the stones," and with good reason, for it is a wilderness of stones. The temple must once have been magnificent, but now all the grand columns and sculptured granite blocks are overturned and lie topsy-turvy, mingled together and piled on one another in the greatest imaginable confusion, as if shuffled by some giant ; they are moreover split into fragments, and the fanatic who destroyed them must have spared no expense. It looks like the work of some Cyclopean stone-breaker hired for the occasion. Only one portion of the temple is still standing—part of a wall on which is sculptured the sacred boat of Isis, who is styled " Goddess of Pa-Heb-Te." There is also a procession of Nile gods figurative of the Nomes of Egypt, and between them are lotus flowers, papyrus, and other water plants ; there are also capitals of columns sculptured with the head of Isis, as at Denderah. On one great granite block, which had been overturned, might be seen King Ptolemy, standing on his head in the

attitude of a Thames mud-lark ! We returned to Mansourah by the light of a brilliant moon without further adventure.

Next morning a wealthy Notable of the town of Talka, at the other side of the river, invited us to pay him a visit, which we did. He received us on landing with a number of others of the principal townspeople, and conducted us to his house. In front was an open court, with ottomans arranged around it. He placed us on his right hand on the centre one ; the rest were occupied by the other visitors. An interesting conversation followed on various subjects connected with the reorganization of Egypt. Our host was a member of the Chamber of Notables, I therefore questioned him as to the constitution of that body : he described their election as follows :

The village Sheiks write to the Mudir, each nominating a candidate for election to represent his district. The Mudir assembles the Sheiks, announces to them the number of votes for each candidate, and invites them to declare which shall be elected. They usually name the candidate whom the Mudir has stated to have received most votes. But the Mudir is not bound to endorse their choice. He often substitutes a protégé of his own, or he receives from the Government an intimation as to whom he has to fix upon. The nominee of the Government is elected as a matter of course. The Chambers meet once a year. They are usually summoned in December ;—first to pass the Budget, *i.e.*, that part of it which does not affect the external debt ; beyond that they discuss various points relating to finance. If summoned now they intended to debate the question of the immunities enjoyed by the

privileged lands, and to propose that all should be taxed alike. Also the question of sinecure pensions, which they regarded as a costly abuse.

Europeans are not exempt from the land tax if they own land, but they are exempt from taxes on cattle, horses, carriages, servants—in fact, everything except land. The land tax was fixed twenty years ago, at the commencement of Ismaïl Pasha's reign, or towards the close of Saïd Pasha's reign, I am not sure which. It was then nearly doubled. (*Note.* In reply to a series of questions, he explained that during the American war cotton rose enormously in price, that cotton-growing in Egypt became exceedingly profitable; that land doubled in value, and that in consequence the land tax was raised. The tax then imposed remained unchanged to this day, although the price of cotton relapsed.)

*Q.* Is there much indebtedness in your townland?—

*A.* Not so much as in some others. My district comprises 2,600 feddans, 300 of which belong to the Government. This autumn, partly owing to the rebellion, partly to the worm in the cotton crops, many could not pay their taxes without borrowing; this has increased the debt that already existed.

The Mixed Tribunals have done much mischief. They abolished the old land law which secured the fellahs against having their land taken away or sold up by creditors without their consent. They have made justice more costly than before. It was cheaper in the old times to make a present to the Mudir than to the advocates now in the Mixed Tribunals. When a case gets there, it may last for several years, and the suitors will be ruined, and the new Courts always favour the

Europeans ; they have helped to increase debts enormously.

As for the Dual Control you have everywhere two men to do the work of one, at high pay ; if you have two captains in one boat, one pulls north, the other pulls south, and the boat goes to the bottom. We are content with the English ; we want no other. We are content if they improve the administration, and make it just and good.

I may give here one story which I heard in the Delta relating to the first establishment of the Chamber of Notables. The late Khedive having decided on a legislative chamber constituted on the model of similar institutions in Europe, sent for one of his most trusted ministers and explained to him that it was essential that there should be an Opposition. The mind of the latter became disturbed : " Who said he would venture to oppose your Highness ? " " Why," exclaimed his despotic lord, " you must, Pasha." " I ! why my one object and aim in life is to do your Highness's pleasure." " Never mind, it is my will ; there must be an Opposition as in England and France, and you must be its leader." " What ass's work is this, that your Highness requires me to do ? " pleaded the perplexed Oriental. However, he had to obey ; and soon afterwards at one of the early meetings of the Chamber, a proposal was brought forward by his special foe which he opposed with such vivacity and good will that an emissary from the Khedive came behind the indiscreet courtier, pulled his sleeve, and beckoned him out. On emerging into the lobby he was seized by two of the vice-regal cawasses, laid flat, and twenty-five blows of a stick administered ; thus was the unlucky statesman admonished to temper

his zeal in opposition, and he returned and took his place on the front opposition bench a sadder and a wiser man; and his political rival noted with a twinkle of triumph, that for the rest of the sitting he wriggled uneasily in his seat.

On my way back to the river-side the following dialogue took place between myself and a village elder.

*Q.* What is the amount of debt owing to the usurers in your townland?—*A.* About 10,000*l.* The acreage is 2,600 feddans, but 300 belong to the Government.

*Q.* Therefore the debt is upon 2,300 feddans?—*Yes.*

*Q.* Are there any farms free from debt?—*A.* I do not think there is one. I know one farm of 100 feddans which owes 1,000*l.*

*Q.* What is the rate of interest?—*A.* Here it varies from 2 to 5 per cent. per month of four weeks, *i.e.*, from 26 to 65 per cent. per year.

*Q.* Who are the creditors?—*A.* They are Greeks, Syrians, and Jews.

*Q.* Has any change taken place in the land law in your recollection?—*A.* Yes; formerly the fellah could not be sold up without his consent. This has been changed by the Tribunals. The power to sell up the fellahs has increased indebtedness, because the security is so good. The usurers are eager to lend, and this facility has induced the fellah to borrow, but the old rates of interest have not been reduced. I would restore the old law. I would insure time for the debtor to give him a chance to pay. I would lower the rate of interest. I approve of loan banks for this purpose, which would advance money at reasonable interest.

I also had the opportunity on the way of getting some information from a collector of taxes. He said that

many fellahs could not pay their land-tax this year owing to losses by the rebellion. Many were taken away from irrigation for war purposes, others ran away to avoid the conscription.

*Q.* What happens when the fellahs cannot pay?—

*A.* Usually time is given them, but this year our orders were to recover the tax by distraining their cattle or their crops, or even by selling their land. Many have been sold up, and their land has been sold much below its value. The present value of a feddan here is about 30*l.*; land is just now much depreciated, and at forced sales the usurers are the only purchasers.

In ordinary times the land tax is paid without difficulty. This year in many cases they had to borrow from the usurers to pay the tax, and to borrow at very high interest; thus indebtedness has increased, and the situation is worse than before.

The usurers' debts are almost never paid off. The fellahs pay money on account as much as they can afford; at last they are ruined and their land sold.

*Q.* Are all the usurers Christians?—*A.* Some are Jews.

*Q.* Are none Mahommedans?—*A.* No; it is forbidden in the Koran.

While at Mansourah we were visited by a somewhat remarkable personage: a kind of semi-independent chief, who resides amongst the swamps of Lake Menzaleh, and possesses great influence with the Bedouins. He was a tall large man, with prominent cheek bones, and rather reminded me of the statues of the Hicksos Kings at Boulak. It is said that the population of the eastern marshes still bear the impress of the Hicksos occupation, and differ decidedly from their fellow countrymen in features.



Sheik Shalabi Shaheen, for that was his name, was not the man to stick at a trifle if the stories told of him are true; one was that a daughter of his, having incurred her papa's displeasure, was strangled by him out of hand; another, that the attention of the late Khedive having been drawn to the fact that this chief's territory had never been surveyed for the land tax, and that he was guilty of the enormity of living tax-free, His Highness sent down a party of officials to make a survey for the benefit of the Khedivial exchequer. The Sheik received these emissaries with the utmost courtesy, and lodged them in the best house at his disposal. They were charmed with their host's manners, and passed a happy evening. Next day things did not go quite so well with them. After the customary enquiries for their welfare, Shalabi casually drew their attention to a thick rope of rice-straw which had made its appearance in the course of the night and girdled round their residence, and earnestly advised them not to venture outside of it, for that a couple of thousand Bedouins were camping there, and that he could not answer for their lives if they transgressed beyond the magic circle.

They in fact noticed some of these swarthy gentry squatting in groups and amusing themselves by cleaning up their matchlocks and scrubbing stray specks of rust off their spears. Shalabi expressed the utmost concern for the inconvenience to which they were put, but Bedouins were wilful people, and they were just then in a bad temper, having heard rumours of impending taxation. There was no saying how long they might remain there, but he would answer for his guests' safety with his own head so long as they remained within the straw rope. Day after day passed; they had the best of rice and

chickens, and their entertainer became more polished in language and manner every hour ; still the thing began to grow monotonous. There was no sign of the Bedouins getting tired of chattering to each other over their long matchlocks ; the landscape was very flat, and they hated the sight of that straw rope. On the tenth day they gave in, and undertook to make no survey if only he would release them. The Sheik's territory is, I am told, still unsurveyed.

This redoubtable personage, on being introduced, kissed my wife's hand with a sweetness of expression which made it difficult to believe that the same fingers he employed in the graceful ceremony had strangled his poor daughter.

During our conversation I ascertained that he attached no importance to the Sultan's sovereignty ; he said that the Sheik-ul-Islam was the head of his religion. He had a very low opinion of the Chamber of Notables. He said, " I think they are no use. They only care to line their own purses." (The English expression, " Feather their own nests," was explained to him. He laughed, and replied that it meant the same thing ; they used their position to get money out of men for themselves.)

I asked whether he thought the Chambers might be so modified as really to represent the Egyptian people ? He replied, " No. I think there is too much corruption ; everybody is bought for money. I do not think it would be possible to get together an honest representative Chamber in Egypt.

" I like the English. Arabi imprisoned me because I tried to help them ; he caught me at Mansourah ; if I had been at home he would not have dared to touch me. His soldiers surrounded me one day when I was in town,

and took me prisoner. If I had been free, I would have brought the English by the Lake Menzaleh to Port Saïd. I am glad they are here." (Before taking leave the Sheik said to me: "I have a favour to ask of you; it is that when you go to Cairo you will write my name for me in Lord Dufferin's book.")

I did not forget on my return to fulfil this request. The opinions I have given above are those of a particularly shrewd, observant man, and I am afraid that my own observations during an acquaintance with Egypt extending over many years do not enable me to deny their accuracy.

Shalabi was treated with great indignity and brutality while in the power of Arabi, on account of his known partiality for the English.

Semi-independent chieftains of this type exercise patriarchal sway amongst the people of the lagoons—that amphibious region in which land and water are so intermixed that it is not easy to tell which is which. The natives have a strong dash of the Ishmaelite about them, and are by no means so docile as the fellaheen proper. Moreover they and their chiefs are not easily accessible, they have been consequently let alone by the Viceroys, who would have found it troublesome to do otherwise. Although these lake dwellers cultivate rice and cereals, their chief wealth consists in flocks and herds, camels and horses, which subsist on the coarse herbage of the marshes. They are aquatic in their habits, they fish and catch wild fowl; the latter they capture by methods as old as the Pyramids. They also course gazelles with greyhounds.

## CHAPTER VIII.

**Temper of the Delta Population—A Native Wedding—Semenhoud : Bazaar ; Streets ; Native Inns ; Merchants—Benha—A Sail along the Sweet Water Canal—The Land of Goshen—The Treasure Cities—The City of Pithom—The Excavations at Tel-el-Mahuta—Bricks without Straw—Monsieur Naville's Discoveries—Statues of the Pharaohs—A Roman Milestone—Other Trophies of Antiquity.**

It is not necessary to detail all the villages and townlands we visited on our way back to the Barrage. Most of the evidence we obtained was but a repetition of that already given: the aspect of the country I have already described.

We were everywhere received in a most friendly manner.

I have no hesitation in saying that the provincial inhabitants of the Delta are favourable to the English, that they expect important reforms at their hands, and are prepared to welcome them.

I say, the provincial inhabitants, because the cities of Alexandria and Cairo stand apart, and are not included in my observations.

I traversed the Delta in all directions, riding for many hours across country, visiting the towns and villages, and being often entertained by the Sheiks. As an Englishman, I was everywhere received with marked friendliness and cordiality, not only in the rural districts, but also in the towns. I traversed the bazaars and streets of the latter, and was present at fairs and markets, where any hostile feeling would not have failed

to manifest itself had it existed, but throughout my tour no trace of any unfriendly sentiment was evinced. I was met not merely with passive tolerance and indifference, but with active tokens of friendly feeling; for instance, in the town of Semenhoud, where we met a wedding-party headed by native musicians; they stopped when they saw us, and played in our honour.

We had been making the tour of the bazaar when we met them. The band-master appeared to be the professor of the big drum; he was a merry looking fellow, with twinkling eyes and a most humorous expression. He played his instrument with immense energy, indeed it may be said that the performance of the entire band was characterised by more goodwill than harmony. After they had terminated it by a grand crash, they saluted us with a general salaam and passed on, followed by a procession of the furniture for the home of the young couple, including the bride's trousseau.

All the articles were carried on the heads of men and women: chests of drawers, little Moorish patterned tables, brass trays, kitchen utensils, pottery, boxes painted in bright colours, the bride's bath, stuffs for dresses, &c., &c.

Amongst other articles were two or three babies, carried astride on the shoulders of women, and holding on by their mammas' heads; whether these were figurative or not I cannot say. The principals in the drama were not present; the bride, we were told, was to be fetched by torchlight after dark, when there would be another procession and more merry-making. We had an opportunity of seeing this latter incident of a native wedding on other occasions; it was a picturesque

scene, as they wound their way along the crown of the Nile embankment, beneath the ruddy glow of many torches, and to the sound of much chaunting. So the bride was brought from her father's village to her husband's home.

The only member of the party who has not the pleasure of witnessing these ceremonies is the bride herself, poor thing! she is closely enveloped from head to foot, and a movable canopy, resembling a shower-bath with the curtains drawn, is carried over her head, or she is simply blindfolded and led along between two bridesmaids, and the use of her eyes is not restored to her until she arrives within the nuptial chamber.

Semenhoud is a good example of these Delta towns; the interior of them all is much alike, narrow winding streets, bounded by mud-coloured walls of crude bricks, the ground floor often occupied by the well-known little Oriental shops, in which the merchant sits on his shop-board cross-legged, and reaches down any article within his establishment without rising from his place.

Overhead are mats, stretching right across the street, (a matter of seven or eight feet only); occasionally the uniform monotony of the street is broken by the entrance to a mosque, with perhaps a marble façade and a fountain, or by the gateway of a caravanserai. If you pass through the latter, you find yourself within a court-yard, surrounded with stabling, below which, on the first and second floor, are wooden balconies on all four sides, with sleeping chambers off them. These are guiltless of furniture; the guest brings a thick quilted rug with him, and sleeps on that. He turns in all standing, in the same clothes he wears by day. On rising he makes no elaborate toilet, but turns out, armed cap-a-pie, and

ready to face the world at a moment's notice. These upper galleries are reached by a stone staircase.

In the court-yard by day will be found assembled the merchants from other districts, who congregate there for purposes of wholesale barter. They sit cross-legged, in turbans and dressing-gowns, and talk much by the aid of many long pipes; these caravanserais are their Royal Exchange and their Bourse. Their talk is of cotton and corn and beans, and of politics, so far as the latter affect their business, for they seldom look further. If you enter they will ask you to sit down amongst them, and will offer you coffee and a smoke.

After leaving Semenhoud we anchored for the night at Zifta. Next morning I shot a pelican with my Winchester repeater. He was strolling contemplatively along a sandbank on the opposite side of the river, about 200 yards off. The ball passed through his neck, and he bit the dust, paying the penalty of being too confiding. His wings when extended measured 8 feet 6 inches from tip to tip.

Later on we reached Benha, where I landed in order to post some despatches to Cairo. We were detained here a couple of hours, awaiting the opening of the swivel bridge which carries the Alexandria and Suez Railway across the Nile. The ceremony takes place only once a day, and large vessels with tall masts can only then get through; small craft can pass under at any time, but, as I have said before, they must pay toll, and are detained to get a permit for the privilege.

Although it was not until later on that we made the expedition along the Sweet Water Canal which I am about to describe, and although we made it not from Benha but from Ismailia, yet as one of the termini of the

canal is at Benha, I shall take the opportunity of here introducing our adventures upon it. I do so because it took us through the only province of the Delta which we did not visit at this time, and it is convenient to keep all our Delta experiences together.

While at Ismailia in February, we hired a sailing-boat for the purpose of visiting the battle-field of Tel-el-Kebir, 26 miles distant, *viâ* the Sweet Water Canal, and the wind being favourable we sailed the greater part of the way. It may be observed here that the name of this aqueduct is more or less a figure of speech, for its waters are very far from sweet. Flowing very slowly as they do through a tolerably thickly populated district, and being used for the purpose of navigation by a large number of native boats, it will be readily understood in how many ways contamination occurs. Of course it gets worse and worse as it goes on, and by the time it reaches Suez I should think it must be beyond the power of any filter to restore its purity. The Sweet Water Canal is not a new institution; vestiges may still be seen of the canal that existed here in the time of the Pharaohs and probably was used during the occupation of the Israelites. The navigation along it is monotonous to the last degree. One is shut in by high banks right and left, and the scenery consists of a dense growth of rushes, presenting a landscape the attractions of which are soon exhausted. Nevertheless, there is a good deal to interest the traveller along this route. It passes through the Land of Goshen, where dwelt the Children of Israel during their Egyptian bondage. The impression produced by the Bible narrative would be that this country was rich and fertile; that, however, is very far from being the case at



present ; but it was suited to a race of shepherds, such as the descendants of Abraham were, because there is a good deal of natural grass in the district, on which no doubt they pastured their flocks and herds.

When I say that there is a good deal of grass, my readers must not imagine a region like Northamptonshire or Oxfordshire. Such grass as there is, would be regarded with contempt by an English grazier, but still, as compared with the grazing grounds of the Bedouins throughout eastern lands, in which the tufts of vegetation are scarcely within whispering distance of each other, it might be regarded as rich.

Amongst other places visited by us on our way, was the City of Pithom, which was one of the treasure cities built by the Israelites for Rameses the Great, the father of the Pharaoh under whom the Exodus took place. It happened that Monsieur Naville was engaged in making excavations here for the Egyptian Exploration Society, and as I had the privilege of being acquainted with him, he very hospitably placed his boat at our disposal, and we were his guests on board for the night. It was a very comfortable Dahabeeah, furnished by Messrs. T. Cook & Co., with their usual liberality, free, as their contribution towards the objects of the Society. Of course we lost no time in going over the excavations under the guidance of our distinguished host. Pithom is at a distance of only about fifty yards from the bank of the canal ; not far from it are some modern houses, and the remains of the encampment of Arabi's troops, and also of the English. When the excavation began, nothing of the ruined city was visible above ground. It was completely buried beneath the sands ; the method of excavation

adopted by Naville had been to cut deep trenches in different directions through the site. A couple of hundred natives were at work, and they certainly, thanks to the energetic supervision of our host, had got through a wonderful amount of work. They had laid bare the actual store rooms built by the children of Israel: these were square chambers with immensely thick walls, without window or door. They must always have been below the surface, and the entrance had evidently been through a trap door from above. The word translated "Treasure City" in the Bible, means, in fact, a store city or dépôt, and as it was on the frontier, no doubt it was built for military purposes, and as a military station. I carefully examined the chamber walls, and I noticed that some of the courses of brickwork throughout were built of bricks *without straw*. I do not remember to have met anywhere in Egypt bricks so made. In a dry climate like Egypt it is not necessary to burn the bricks: they are made of Nile mud, and dried in the sun. Straw is mixed with them to give them coherence. I do not wish to attach too much importance to the fact that a portion of the bricks used by the children of Israel in building these store chambers are found to be without straw, still it is interesting, and appears to confirm the Bible narrative. It will be remembered that the name of the other city was Rameses; the site of that has not yet been determined, but the excavations at Pithom explain its name, because they place beyond all doubt the fact that the monarch for whom the children of Israel built these treasure cities was Rameses, and it was after him that the twin city was called. This fact has lately been confirmed by the translation of the great inscription at


Aboo Simbel, in which Rameses II., while recounting the deeds he has achieved and the cities he has built, mentions "The City of Rameses *which is on the frontier.*" It probably was not far from Zoan, or San. Of course Pithom being a mere military station was not likely to contain many works of art nor any striking architecture. The only structure in it not built of sun-dried brick was the temple from which it takes its name. In the south-eastern side the ruins of this were discovered, including several statues. The two most important of these was one of Rameses himself, enthroned between two gods, one of whom was Toun, the deity of the setting sun. From inscriptions discovered, it appears that the temple was dedicated to him by Rameses the Great.

The other statue was also seated. It was an effigy of an official of the temple. On the back was an inscription giving his title and offices, and stating that he was attached to the temple of Toun in the district of Succoth. It appears, therefore, that when the Israelites are spoken of as journeying through Succoth, a district, not a town, is referred to; and, indeed, we might have anticipated this, for it is not likely that the Israelites would have entered a town during their flight. The practice of applying what appears to be the name of a town or village to a district is still common in Egypt.

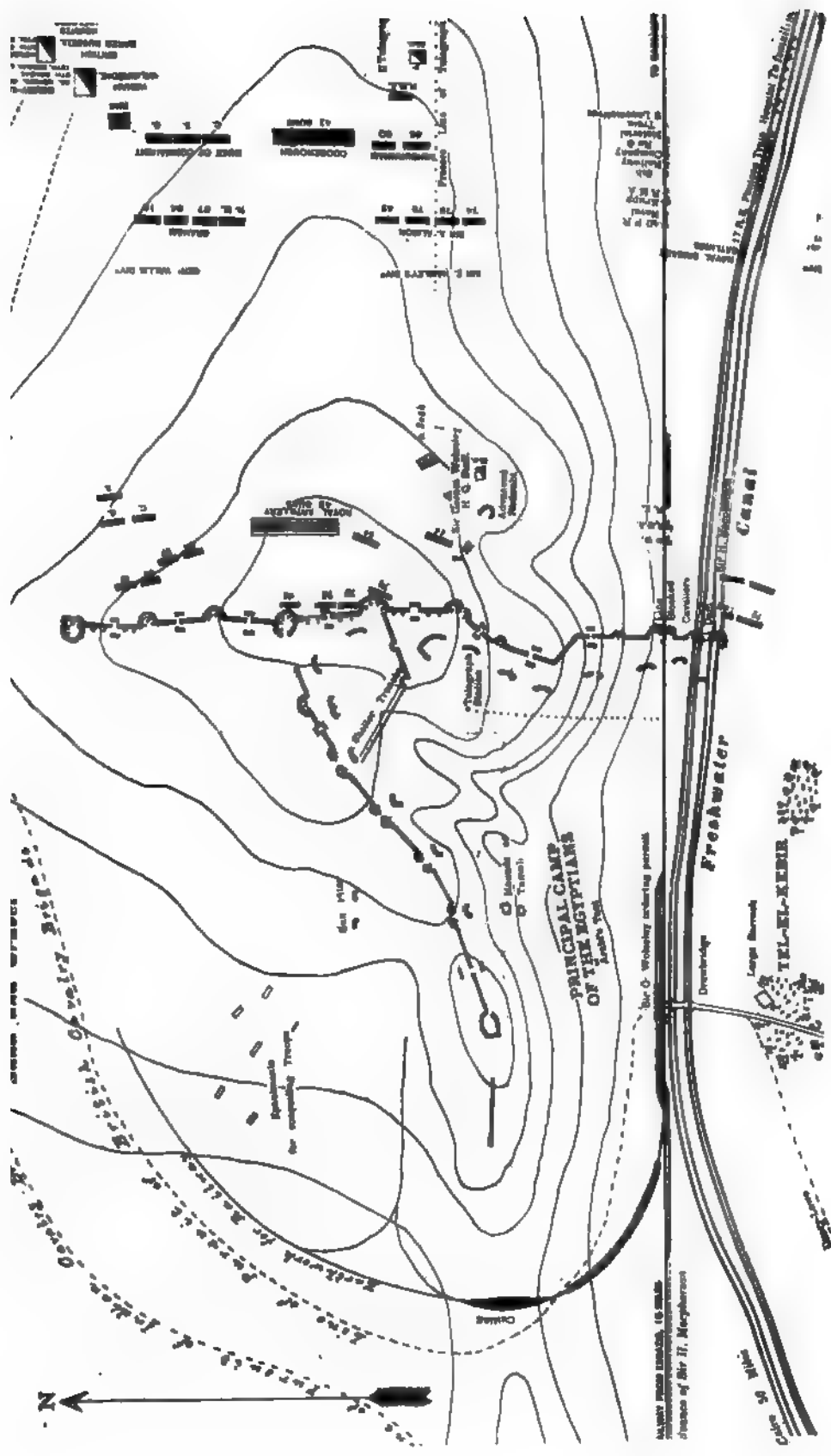
Amongst other things discovered by Monsieur Naville among the ruins was a great hawk, of granite, with an inscription upon it. There were also the fragments of a very beautiful statue of Osorkon of the twenty-second dynasty. One interesting discovery made by Naville was a Roman milestone, together with an entablature

containing the name of the camp, and specifying what Legion was stationed there at the time. The inscription on the mile-stone was as follows:—"Ab Ero ad Clusmar Millia Octo," *i.e.* "from Ero to Clusmar eight miles." This inscription proves that Pithom was identical with Heroöpolis, its Greek name, shortened into Ero by the Romans; both names were derived from the Egyptian "Ar," a store city. It therefore appears that Pithom continued to be a military frontier station, both under the Greeks and under the Romans. Amongst the articles which I saw in the store chambers was a beautifully made bronze brazier for holding fire; soon after its discovery, however, it fell to pieces from the action of the air. In one of the chambers near the canal Naville showed me an immense collection of bones of various quadrupeds, birds, and even fish; they were fragile from age, and we could not account for their presence. I saw also in another chamber, close by, masses of a species of gum or resin; the mark of the sacks in which it had been contained was still stamped on the outside, although the sacks themselves had long since fallen to dust. I took some of this away with me, and on setting fire to it found that it burned with a strong aromatic perfume. It had in fact been frankincense, and was no doubt stored there for the use of the temple. Naville also showed me some masses of copper coin, which had been converted by the lapse of time and by the action of the nitre in the soil into mere lumps of green oxide; these also had the impression of the sacks in which they had been contained stamped on the outside of them. Monsieur Naville found also a good deal of pottery, both Roman and Egyptian, as well as terra-cotta statuettes.

The enclosing wall of the city could be perfectly well traced by the mounds which surrounded it, and at a short distance were the remains of the walls of another town.

I may observe here that the name Pithom is a corruption of the Egyptian Pir Tourn, *i.e.*, "House of Tourn." I annex its hieroglyphic title engraved upon the statue before referred to, . In the inscription the characters were placed vertically; I have arranged them horizontally for convenience. The first of the characters means "house," and the rest constitute the name of the god. I observed in the masses of soil beneath which Pithom was buried, quantities of charcoal and pieces of partially burned wood, which render it probable that the city perished by fire. In some places the holes in the wall in which the joists had been fitted could be seen, the charred ends remaining.

As we looked down from the desert level upon the structures now laid bare, we were reminded of Pompeii. Beneath our eyes, like cells in a honeycomb, lay the chambers built by the contemporaries of Moses, for Rameses and his successor, for the bricks without straw would seem to imply that the city was not completed in the time of the first-named Pharaoh. It was a spectacle the interest of which it is not easy to exaggerate, and it was a most encouraging augury of the future success of the Egypt Exploration Society.



MAP OF THE AREA AROUND THE PRINCIPAL CAMP OF THE EGYPTIANS SHOWING FORTIFICATIONS



## CHAPTER IX.

Tel-el-Keber—Survey of the Battle-field—Ghastly Relics—The Trenches—Kassassin—The Eve of Victory—Order of Advance—Regiments Engaged—Summary of Events from August 24 to September 13—The Assault—The Route—The Pursuit—Fixed March of the Indian Cavalry—Cairo Saved—Arabi's mistakes.

AFTER spending a most interesting 24 hours as the guests of Mons. Naville, we proceeded on our way to Tel-el-Kebir, the wind still favouring us. We passed Kassassin, at which a battle was fought on September 9th, four days previous to the final victory of Tel-el-Kebir. The canal and the railway are close to each other; the southern extremity of Arabi's earthworks crossed both, and the remains of these are still visible. We had telegraphed the day before for donkeys and guides, and these were in attendance near the station. We started for the battle-field immediately. It commences at the station, nearly opposite which stood Arabi's tent (see plan); we rode along the line which terminates on the canal 3,000 yards below the village of Tel-el-Kebir. From that point, it extends nearly due north a distance of 6,500 yards. Opposite No. 6 battery, that is the fourth from the southern end, commences another line of earthworks, running from south-west to north-east. These were intended to guard against an attack from the north. The soil over which we rode consisted of hard gravel, and the surface was undulating, the highest point being between Batteries 5 and 6; the ground was perfectly bare; there was no vegetation whatever except an



occasional tuft of coarse herbage. Although three months had passed since the battle a number of articles were still scattered about over the field: Fez caps, quantities of slippers, tin water-bottles, fragments of shells, piles of shot and shell, lying where they had been left by the army in its flight; there were also more ghastly relics than these. I saw in several places the legs of men that had apparently been shot off; they were now shrivelled up, the skin and muscle having shrunk upon them; some of them had still the boot and part of the trousers attached. We carried away a few of the shells as trophies; a sword and also a couple of water tins, one of which had been pierced by a bullet, which must have brought its unfortunate owner's career to a full stop. In one place where a camel had been buried the jackals had burrowed their way in, and after devouring the intestines, the framework of the poor beast was left to form a kind of cavern. There were also the remains of dead horses partly buried, their lips shrunk away from the teeth, which produced the effect of a repulsive grin. The spots where tents had been pitched were marked by numbers of provision tins and fragments of paper written with Arabic characters, probably lists of the men in the different companies; some of them, however, were private letters. Amongst other articles we secured one of the chains by which some of the artillerymen had been found tethered to the guns. A British officer, whom I subsequently met at Thebes, assured me that after the action he saw a dead body so chained. I think it is Herodotus, who tells a story of a gallant Greek who was so determined not to run away, that he took with him into battle an anchor with which he moored



BEHIND THE EARTHWORKS, TEL-EL-KEBIR.

[To face p. 86.]





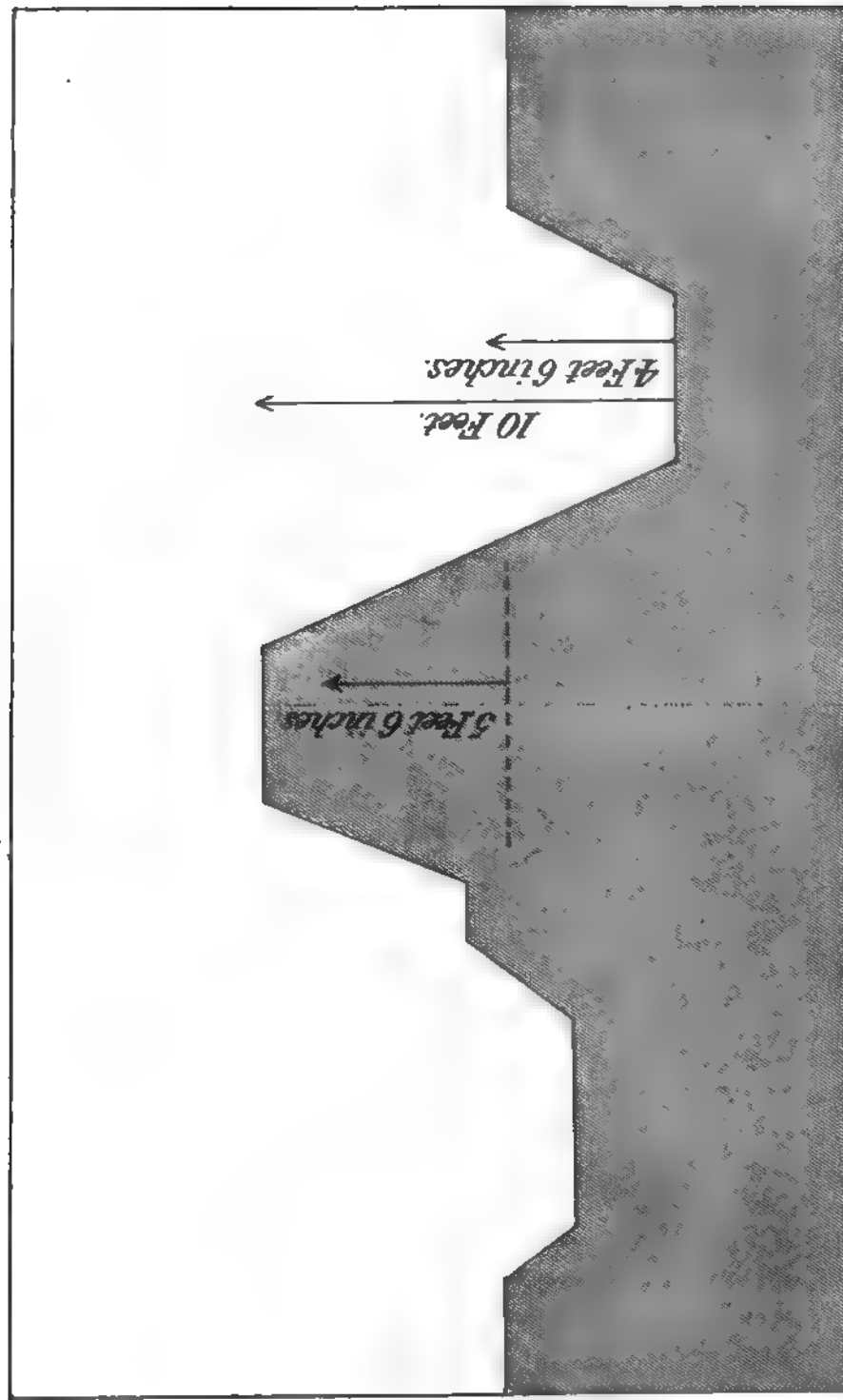


PLATE XXXVI.

AVERAGE SECTION OF EARTHWORKS AT TEL-EL-KEBIR.

fifty miles farther from Cairo, and would besides involve a march through the whole of the Delta, during or immediately after the inundation, when the absence of roads and the soddened state of the land might render military operations very difficult and hazardous ; whereas *viâ* Ismailia, our march would be across a hard, firm desert tract, skirting the Sweet-water Canal. Later on I referred to the same subject in my reply to Lord Eustace Cecil (see Hansard's Debates of July 1882).

I was so much impressed with the importance of occupying the Sweet-water Canal, that I gave notice from my place in Parliament of a question on the subject. But attention having been called to the fact that Arabi had friends in England who kept him acquainted with all that passed there, I did not put the question publicly.

It may be well now to recall to the remembrance of my readers the incidents that preceded and marked the course of the brief but memorable campaign.

On August 15th Sir Garnet Wolseley arrived at Alexandria, and, feigning an attack on Rosetta, left the harbour with the transports and a portion of the fleet. He, however, gave the metropolis of rice a wide berth, and, passing it, arrived in twelve hours at Port Said, and occupied the canal and Ismailia.

Arabi, entirely taken by surprise, detached as large a force as he could spare from Kafr Dowar, and hurried to Tel-el-Kebir, where he threw up with wonderful rapidity the now historic earthworks, which three weeks later our army may be said to have taken in its stride. The soil in which the trenches were cut, consisted of hard gravel, and the excavation must have been exceedingly laborious, nevertheless in a few days entrench-



GLACIS, DITCH AND PARAPET, TEL-EL-KEBIR.

(To face p. 91.)





ments nearly nine miles in extent were thrown up. These defences, as well as those at Kafr Dowar, were planned by Mahmoud Fehmi, Arabi's chief of the staff. Meanwhile several skirmishes took place between Ismailia and Kassassin; the most important of these was Massamah. This place was so called after the Emperor Maximin, whose name was also found by Naville on a Roman inscription, which he unearthed at Pithom during the explorations which I have already described.

A relic of the British occupation was brought to the eminent Egyptologist in a rather amusing manner. The Arab excavators waited upon him one morning and announced that they had discovered a most interesting "antique," which they produced with much ceremony. It was a thin piece of enamelled sheet-iron three inches square, and on further inspection he found it to present the features of a good-looking young person in hat and feathers—a recent photograph! the sweetheart no doubt of one of our gallant troopers stationed there three months before! M. Naville did not laugh; on the contrary, he gravely accepted it, and rewarded the finders of the treasure. Had he done otherwise the natives would have been discouraged, and might have abstained from bringing to his notice some antiquity of real value.

He showed us this article, and we immediately recognised it as resembling certain cheap but fleeting forms of sun pictures, executed by itinerant artists who frequent the Brighton Strand on Bank Holidays, and photograph impatient lovers, varnished and all, in five minutes! Let us hope that the gallant Guardsman was not slain, but has survived to return and take the hat and feathers to his heart.

The following is the order of events that led up to the decisive battle of the war.

On Thursday, August 24, 1882, the enemy dammed up the canal, leaving our troops without water. The same day Sir Garnet, and the Duke of Connaught with the Guards, 1,000 Infantry, and two guns hastened across the desert, determined at all hazards to take possession of the dam and cut it.

And gallantly the duty was performed. The Cavalry brigade with sixteen guns was already in the neighbourhood. The combined force found themselves confronted by 10,000 of the enemy, who attacked them again and again with much determination. The British were outnumbered in the proportion of fully three to one. But they stood to their arms, and held their own all night long, not yielding an inch. On Friday, August 25, the Egyptians began to retreat—a dangerous manœuvre in the face of a vigilant and high-spirited enemy. General Lowe immediately sprang forward with his cavalry and threatened to cut them off from their base, a movement which turned the retreat into a rout. Their camp at Mahsameh, five guns, and a train of railway waggons loaded with provisions and ammunition, fell into our hands. Moreover, Mahmoud Fehmi, Arabi's chief military engineer, by whom the defences of Kafr Dowar and Tel-el-Kebir had been so ably planned, was made prisoner.

On Saturday, August 26, Sir Garnet occupied Kassassin.

On Monday, August 28, Arabi appeared on the field in person, and attacked Kassassin with 13,000 men and many heavy guns; the engagement lasted all day, the enemy displaying unwonted pluck and determination.

The position of General Graham was becoming critical, when, after sunset, H.R.H. the Duke of Connaught, with the Guards, and General Drury Lowe with his cavalry made a headlong charge in the moonlight, captured the enemy's guns, and placed their communications in imminent peril ; then they broke and fled.

The interest of Englishmen in the above stirring incidents will not be diminished by the fact that the son of their sovereign shared the hardships and perils which attended them, and there can be no doubt that his Royal Highness's presence amongst them, and the influence of his example, inspired our troops with additional spirit and determination.

The moonlight charge of Kassassin is one of the memorable incidents of the campaign ; after this Arabi's stomach for fighting was spoiled for some time, and we remained in almost undisputed possession until September 9, when a second engagement took place, followed a few days afterwards by the decisive battle of the war.

On the night of 12th September, 1882, the English army was still encamped at Kassassin. The forces consisted of the Household Cavalry under the Duke of Connaught; 74th, 75th, 79th, and 42nd Regiments under Sir A. Alison; the 46th and 60th under Ashburnham; the 87th and 84th and Royal Irish under Graham; the Indian contingent, consisting of the 6th and 20th Bengal Cavalry, and the 13th Bengal Lancers. There were besides, Sir H. Macpherson's division, consisting of the 20th Punjaub, 29th Beloochee, and the 7th Bengal Native Infantry: also the Mountain Rifles and the 72nd Regiment. There were in addition forty Krupp guns advancing along the railway line, and

forty-two field guns under Goodenough. The camp broke up in the course of the night, and the forces advanced noiselessly towards the earthworks of Tel-el-Kebir. A memorable march beneath the silent stars! No sound was heard but the tread of the men upon the hard, naked gravel of the desert. There was no moon; the various corps felt rather than saw each other. The words of command were passed along the line in whispers, and at one moment some danger of confusion occurred, for in the darkness they could not easily keep line. Thus they marched nearly seven miles. They halted within a few hundred yards of the enemy, their presence being still unsuspected. Arabi, with incredible carelessness, had failed to provide vedettes to guard against surprise. Sir Garnet Wolseley's order to the troops was that they were to try and take the works at the point of the bayonet by a rush. They were to abstain from firing until they had closed with the enemy. Their onslaught commenced as dawn began to break, and the enemy were not aware of their presence until they were within musket shot. The word "Forward!" was given, and the British troops rushed on with a wild cheer. The Egyptians, taken by surprise, opened fire suddenly along the whole line, but fired so wildly that the bullets flew over the heads of our troops. One reason of this was, that the ledge at the back of the parapet on which the enemy stood when firing was too low down, thus they could not depress their rifles sufficiently. I tried the experiment myself, standing on the ledge referred to, and found that I could not have used a rifle effectively at close quarters unless I had sprung on the summit of the parapet.

It was very fortunate that Sir Garnet Wolseley, instead of keeping to the railway line, directed his course northwards, for he thereby avoided a formidable advanced redoubt, which would have swept the entire space between it and the railway.

Batteries No. 5 and 6 were captured by the 42nd and 74th Regiments. There has been much disputing as to which corps is entitled to the honour of getting first into the works, but I think the greatest honour is due to that corps which took the most difficult position. Having inspected the entire line, I have no hesitation in saying that the earthworks of No. 6 battery were decidedly the most formidable, and that was captured at the point of the bayonet by the 42nd. In rear of the centre attack came the Royal Artillery, consisting of 42 guns; to the left of these was the 60th Regiment, and further to the left again was the 46th. On the right, that is to the north, were the Royal Marines, the 87th, 64th, and 18th Royal Irish: all under Graham. The Royal Irish were on the extreme flank. They made a most dashing charge. To the south of the canal was Sir H. Macpherson's division, consisting of the 72nd, the Mountain Rifles, and three regiments of Indian Infantry: these advanced along the canal, and captured the works on the extreme left, and afterwards occupied Tel-el-Kebir, and subsequently Zagazig. The Egyptian artillerymen, taken by surprise and deserted by their officers, nevertheless fought to the last; they stood beside the muzzles of their guns and defended themselves with the rammers until they were shot or bayoneted. I am assured of this by soldiers who took part in the fight; and besides that, there was the silent evidence of the masses of

dead bodies with which the ditch at the back of the parapet was filled.

Alison says, "So earnest were the Egyptian artillery-men that they were actually bayoneted from the rear while still working their guns." The Egyptian Guard regiment fell back fighting sullenly, that hardest thing of all to fight,-- a losing battle. On the plan may be seen a line of works at right-angles with the main entrenchments : they took advantage of this ; they rallied at every re-entering angle, at every battery, at every redoubt. They met our men bayonet to bayonet again and again, and that though their officers had deserted them.

The Royal Marine Artillery Corps performed a gallant exploit, taking possession of some guns and turning them upon the enemy with fatal effect. Our men were not disposed to show quarter to the fugitives, because they had been exasperated by some acts which had occurred after the battle of Kassassin, when wounded Egyptians turned upon and shot our men while they were in the act of procuring water for them. The slaughter was consequently very great, but I do not think that a correct estimate has ever been made of the number killed. The actual fight lasted less than half an hour. It is said that one of the men who was Arabi himself, and I was assured that he was the man so vigorously in the fight who lay down amongst dead wounded men. When the Egyptian army was in full retreat, General Dargy Lowe, with the Household Cavalry, swept round to the front of the lines, making a circuit to the rear of the Egyptian line, crossed the canal at the railway station, and proceeded towards Cairo. The Indian Cavalry under Williamson followed

somewhat a different route to the west, and were the first to reach Cairo. Their forced march thither is now a matter of history, and they arrived just in time to save the city from a similar conflagration to that of Alexandria; for Arabi had arrived there before them, and is said to have been in the act of ordering its destruction when his career was cut short by the appearance on the scene of the Indian Cavalry. As for the Egyptian army, it melted away like snow in the sun, the great bulk of the men being only too glad to throw away their military disguise and their arms, and trappings, and get back to their farms and villages as fast as they could. Thus burst the Arabi bubble.

Arabi was a commander who took too much for granted. He took it for granted that the English would never fight; that the support of Turkey was an all-powerful ægis; that Sir Beauchamp Seymour and his ironclads were mere ornaments, not meant for use, and would quietly allow him to ring them round with his artillery until it suited him to open fire.

He took it for granted that our army would advance by the precise route he had prepared for them *viâ* Kafr Dowar; that they would never venture to seize the canal or dare to disregard the veto of Lesseps. When he had been rudely undeceived, and after we had taken position after position in his front between Ismailia and Tel-el-Kebir, and were within 10 miles of his camp, he took it for granted that we would not be guilty of so irregular a proceeding as marching at night, but would go to bed early like good boys, and give him due notice when we meant to attack. Therefore, on the night of the 12th September, he and his officers retired to rest and appointed never an outpost or a scout to guard against

surprise, but slept the sleep of innocence until that rough alarm at daybreak on the eventful 13th, when he and his officers turned out hastily, with one boot on and one boot off, just in time to meet their flying legions, and the pursuing Britishers.

One important result of Sir Garnet's prompt victory was that the massacre of the Coptic Christians in Upper Egypt was averted. I was assured both by Mahometans and Christians in the southern provinces that had the downfall of Arabi's power been delayed but a few days, one of the bloodiest butcheries on record would have occurred. The Copts in that region number fully two hundred and fifty thousand.

But the most momentous consequence of this decisive battle was that it made England arbiter of the destinies of Egypt, it placed in our hands the highway, the Grand Junction as it were, between Europe and Asia and the far East. It conferred upon us the high privilege of regenerating the conditions under which 5,000,000 of human beings exist, and of converting for them an unhappy past and a monotonous routine of bondage and oppression into a free and prosperous future. It placed us in a fortunate position, in which the most important interests of the Empire, and our noblest duty as champions of liberty and civilization pointed the same way. God grant that we may make a worthy use of so glorious an opportunity!



## CHAPTER X.

**First Experiences of the Rosetta Branch of the Nile—A Sand-storm—Aground—The Natives to the Rescue—Improving the Occasion—Evidence of a Fellaḥ—Statement of a Labourer's Opinions : of an Ex-Governor's—Afloat again—A Dark Rumour.**

ON the morning of December 26 we reached the Barrage, which I have already described, and passed through the locks from the Damietta into the Rosetta branch of the Nile. We steamed on at full speed, hoping to reach Kafr Zayat the same night, but the fates ordered it otherwise. We soon found ourselves in a country totally different from that fertile and prosperous region we had just quitted. On our left was the desert, all sand-hills and desolation down to the water's edge, for there is nothing here between the river and the Sahara, the sands of which are brought by the west wind in vast quantities, burying whatever alluvial soil lies beneath, and condemning it to perpetual sterility. Thus it comes to pass that the Province of Baheireh, in which we now found ourselves, is the poorest and most barren in Northern Egypt. Its shores for miles below the Barrage are desolate. Only at long intervals small hamlets occur, tenanted by fishermen, or there is an occasional date-palm or two of extra sturdy constitution. There could scarcely be a greater contrast than between the scenery on our left hand and that on our right ; for on the latter lay the fertile province of Menoufieh, with its towns and villages and palm groves and bright green

well-tilled fields. The broad flood of the Nile, interposed, received the invading sands and swept them away in its current—hence the difference. In many parts of the banks on our left the sand had drifted like snow-wreaths, curling over the water as one sees the snow curling over some sharp Alpine ridge.

There was nothing to induce us to tarry, so we pushed on. Meanwhile the wind had been increasing. To the west a wall of yellow mist was advancing at racing speed. A hurricane burst upon us. The surface of the river was lashed into white foam. We were suddenly enveloped in sand. The air grew so thick with it that we could scarcely discern the shore. It was driven through our clothes, stinging like needles. It filled eyes, nose, mouth, and ears. Although the cabin windows were carefully closed, yet it made its way in, and got amongst our papers and even into the ink-bottle. The surface of the water

“Doth like one pot of boiling ointment seem.”

The captain struggled on gallantly against the storm for an hour or so, but at last he announced that he could not be responsible for the safety of the ship if we persevered; so the *Benisouef* was moored with several cables to the bank, and we had to bear the infliction with as much patience as we could muster. Those who imagine a London fog of the yellow variety the most intolerable infliction in nature should try a desert sandstorm. They would pine for the soft, bland, and oily attributes of the former; and as they grind mouthfuls of sand between their teeth, and turn first one and then the other cheek to be buffeted by a furious gale armed with pins and needles, they will think more

kindly of the much-abused cockney scourge. The atmosphere becomes perfectly thick and yellow, the sun disappears, and it grows almost dark, so that your eyes would be of little use even if you could keep them open.

This unpleasant experience lasted three hours. It then suddenly fell calm, the sky cleared, and we proceeded on our way; but it was not destined to be the last of our trials. The captain had declared that although he had been obliged to steer cautiously while we were in the Damietta branch, there was plenty of deep water in this; and that there was nothing to prevent our going ahead at full speed. Unfortunately his confidence proved to be misplaced; for at about three o'clock in the afternoon, while steaming at the rate of twelve miles an hour, the *Benisouef* suddenly ran upon a sandbank opposite the village of Shebshir, brought up with a violent shock and a grinding sound, and stuck fast. The captain tried all the usual expedients: turning full speed astern and getting out the punting poles, carrying out his anchor and hauling upon it with a windlass, etc.; but nothing would move her. She appeared to be as firmly rooted as the Rock of Gibraltar, and there she remained until it grew dark.

I may mention that on leaving Cairo I had received a circular letter from the Minister of the Interior, desiring the officials throughout Egypt to give us all the aid and assistance in their power when required to do so. This potent talisman I now determined to use, thinking that the emergency justified it. Next morning, armed with this, the interpreter visited the Sheik of a large village and requested him to send 100 men to get the steamer off. These appeared within half an hour, and cables were carried on shore to them on which they

hauled with the full strength of the company; still we remained immovable. We then carried an anchor on shore and pulled upon it with a windlass: the only result being to drag the anchor through the ground and finally to snap the cable. A number of villagers now came on board, and I observed amongst them a bright intelligent-looking man. He wore a felt skull-cap and a blue calico gown reaching below the knee; his legs and feet were bare, and, like his complexion, of the colour of a dirty halfpenny. Him I conducted to the stern balcony, and in reply to my questions he gave the following evidence, standing before me cigarette in hand:—

My name is Mohammet Abdel Halim. I own 7 feddans of land in fee. I came out of prison yesterday. I was beaten while in prison.

I was imprisoned and beaten because I could not pay my debt to the money-lender (mentioning his name—a Syrian Christian). I have now paid him the principal, but not the interest. The rate of interest was 3 per cent. per month of four weeks, *i.e.*, calculated according to Arab custom, thirteen months' interest in the year. I was let out on paying the principal and agreeing to pay an increased rate of 4 per cent. per month on the unpaid interest. I first got into debt because I could not pay the Government taxes; they came so often for land tax, sheep tax, &c., &c., and I was beaten. Then I borrowed to pay. My creditor is rich and has steam-pumps and gardens, and a fine house, and plenty of land. He got the land by selling up the fellahs who owed him money. All his land once belonged to the fellahs.

Q. Did he sell up many?—A. "Ketir, ketir" (Many, many).

**E**

ERN SECTION



Q. What is the land tax here?—A. P. T. 150 per feddan.

Q. Do you think that fair?—A. (after some hesitation) Perhaps it is not too much; but I have to give one-third of my crops to the owner of the steam-pump for irrigation.

(Witness pointed out the pumping-engine in the distance on the embankment. It belonged to the money-lender already spoken of.)

Another native now came up, and I enquired whether he was in debt. He replied, with a smile, that he had no land, and therefore no debt. He added, I work on the farms; sometimes on one and sometimes on another, as I am wanted. I get 5 piastres current \* (*i.e.*, 6½d.) per day and my food.

Q. Have you to join in the forced labour on the canals and embankments?—A. I am employed by the farmers as substitute, but I am paid for my work.

(Halim, the first witness, here explained, that on receiving from the Sheik a requisition for the number of labourers fixed by the Mudir, the farmers agreed among themselves upon the proportion each should supply.

The *corvée* is, in fact, a tax upon the land. Those who own land are liable to serve, and they get no pay whatever, nor any food nor any tools. Their friends send them food from the villages, and they must find tools and baskets. It is open, however, to any peasant proprietor to hire a substitute. Labourers who neither own nor occupy land are not legally liable to the *corvée*. They are, however, often hired by the farmers as substitutes. They are then paid at the current rate.

In the Delta, where the fellahs are well off, the

\* A piastre current is half a piastre tariff.

practice of hiring substitutes prevails to a much greater extent than in Upper Egypt, where they are poor.)

Presently the Sheik himself came on board, accompanied by a Notable, and expressed his extreme regret at our misfortune. The usual ceremony of cigarettes and coffee followed.

El Saïd Abdalla owns 30 feddans of land, and is Sheik of the village.

Ibrahim Effendi owns 1,300 feddans, and is a man of education and position. Has been District Governor.

Sometimes one, sometimes the other, and sometimes both, spoke in reply to questions.

The indebtedness in this district varies very much; my own village, Zowyet, is not so bad; another, near by, is almost ruined. My neighbour here owes £1,000 on his farm of 30 feddans.

Q. You mean 1,000 piastres?—A. No, 100,000 piastres. (El Saïd assented.)

Q. At what rate of interest?—A. (El Saïd.) At from 4 to 5 per cent. per month.

Q. Do you mean then that you have to pay more than £400 interest on 30 feddans?—A. Yes.

Q. And the land tax is P. T. 150 per feddan?—A. Yes.

Q. That is only one-tenth part of what you pay in interest?—A. Yes.

Q. How can your farm stand such heavy interest?—A. The land about here is very good for cotton.

(Note.—Another witness stated that some of the land in that neighbourhood produced 720 lbs. of cotton per feddan, that would be worth £24 per feddan if of ordinary quality, but much more if of the best.)



*Q.* Has much of the land near this been sold up by the money-lenders ?

*The Governor.*—In this district about 5,000 feddans have changed hands, but in the whole Province of Menoufieh 50,000 have, within five years in my district, passed into the hands of the money-lenders.

Arabi would not have met with any support but for the terror he inspired and the lies he told. At first the people did not care about him, but when they saw he was powerful they were afraid to disobey him. He also told them that if the English came into the country they would disgrace and dishonour their wives and daughters, and take away their land and their cattle and all they had, and make slaves of them, and at last they believed him, but now they see that these were all lies and that Arabi deceived them, because the English soldiers are so quiet, and “allow themselves to be touched.” When they first came the people believed they would all be killed. Arabi told them so, but now they are quite changed. Long live the English ! If they had not come, Egypt would have been ruined in a short time. (Both joined spontaneously and heartily in this sentiment.)

*Q.* What is the feeling in your district about the Sultan’s sovereignty in Egypt ?—They both laughed and said, “Do you think the fellahs know anything about the Sultan ? They know nothing and they care nothing about him.”

*Q.* Is there not a religious veneration for him ?—*A.* No. The people do not think of these things. The Khedive is a good man, he has not made the people pay their taxes twice over like Ismail ; he has done them no harm.

I observed, "The English wish to do Egypt good while they are here, and when they see things in a fair way to go on right they wish to leave the Egyptians to themselves."

The English are welcome, we do not wish them to leave.

A very important thing is the debt to the usurers.

Q. Have you thought of a remedy?—A. I have heard loan banks for each district spoken of; that would be the best thing, then the fellahs could redeem their debts to the money-lenders.

Q. I have asked you many questions about Egypt. I shall be happy to answer any questions of yours about England.—A. We know nothing about England, and would not know what to ask.

Our captain was in despair at the failure of all his expedients, and talked of letting the water out of the boiler and removing the coal. It has happened before now that a vessel badly aground has had to wait until the rise of the Nile the following season before it could be got off, and that seemed likely to be our fate. We were already discussing the propriety of telegraphing to Cairo for another steamer. I suggested to him, however, another effort. The anchor was once more fixed on the bank with a new cable attached to it; we worked at the windlass and steamed full speed ahead, and caused the 100 men on shore to pull at the same time: these combined forces were successful. The *Benisouef* moved with a grinding sound, inch by inch, over the bank and presently slid off into deep water. The Sheik congratulated us cordially, and insisted on sending nearly a coop-full of fowls and a fine turkey on board for our use; and, having exchanged presents according to oriental custom, we parted.

Our good ship now proceeded on her way, but the captain's confidence in the river was much shaken, and he crept along more cautiously than the previous day.

We had entirely left the desert region behind us, and fertility characterised both shores. We had passed Terraneh, the depot for the subcarbonate of soda brought from the Natron lakes some miles inland; we next passed Nadir, at which point the Nile takes an abrupt turn due west, and Teirieh, and Negibe, and finally reached Kafr Zayat at night-fall.

The Alexandria and Cairo Railway here crosses the Nile on a magnificent viaduct. During the reign of Said Pasha a brother of the late Khedive was drowned in crossing this. There is a swing bridge to enable vessels to pass, as at Benha. The Prince had been summoned to Alexandria and was returning at night in a special train, accompanied by his brother Halim: the bridge proved to be open; and the train was precipitated into the flood below. Halim had the presence of mind to spring clear of the carriage, swam to shore, and was saved; but his brother perished. The malicious hint that this was one of those amiable little family arrangements not unknown in Eastern countries; Halim, however, lived to be troublesome. Halim's mother is said to have been a Bedouin, perhaps it was to this fact that he owed the cat-like activity that saved his life.

## CHAPTER XI.

**Kafr Zayat—The Mahmoudieh Canal—Atfeh—Visit from the Governor and Cadi—Coaling the *Benisouef*—How the Canal is kept full—Rosetta from the Water—Disenchantment—Visit from the Governor—The Rice Mills—Bird's-eye View of City—A Predatory Sheep—The Rice Swamps—A Gipsy Population—The Lagune Banana Gardens.**

NEXT day we pushed forward, passing the ancient Sais, described by Herodotus, of which I shall have more to write on our return; then Chabrakeet, Ramanieh, Dessouk, Fouah, abounding in minarets, and soon afterwards Atfeh, the terminus of the Mahmoudieh Canal. At this point our coal was nearly exhausted. The captain had wasted much while on the sandbank, for during our 24 hours' struggle to get off, he had kept up steam uninterruptedly. There was not therefore fuel enough left to take us to Rosetta.

Atfeh is a mud-coloured village, which acquires any importance it possesses from the houses and offices of the officials connected with the canal.

Soon the Governor came on board, accompanied by the Cadi and the French Engineer. I explained our difficulty, and asked them to sell us some coal. They said that was quite contrary to regulation, as it was Government property. I now produced my talisman, and the Governor at once declared that that entirely altered the case. He ordered the porters down, and instructed them to coal up the *Benisouef* without delay. Meanwhile, they invited us ashore, and we

visited each of them consecutively. The Cadi is not only a judge in criminal and civil cases, he also has a special jurisdiction in matrimonial causes. He is the Lord Penzance of the district and something more, for he has to do with the tying of the marriage knot as well as with the unloosing of it. If within a fortnight the bride appears before him and notifies to him that her husband does not suit her, he first of all gives her a little paternal advice and tries to make it up between them; should that fail, he takes half an hour to deliberate, and then declares her free. The French engineer who explained this function, put the bride's formula very concisely in his own native tongue, "Si elle dit, 'Je n'en veux plus de lui.'" The bridegroom has the privilege of going through the same process at any time subsequent to his marriage, nor is it necessary that any infidelity should be alleged. The most ordinary occasion of these divorces is when a man wants to take to himself a new wife, but being of frugal mind does not wish to overburthen his establishment. In this case, however, he is bound to pay to the rejected one twopence-halfpenny per day, a jointure of which the divorced lady's next husband gets the benefit.

The engineer took us over the pumping apparatus, which is worked by two great engines of 750 horse power each: the object of these is to keep the canal full even at low Nile. Their services are not required throughout the year, but only for about six months. Of course there is a lock at Atfeh, by means of which vessels are raised or lowered to the required level as the case may be. The Mahmoudieh Canal is forty miles in length, and is tapped for irrigation along its whole course. It will be readily understood, therefore, that a

large supply of water is required ; but it pays well, for the entire district is thus converted from a desert into a garden. The engineer entertained us at his house, introduced us to his daughters, and took us over his orangery. He was the only European here who remained at his post during the rebellion. He kept the fanatics at bay by threatening to turn the steam on and scald them to death. A fellow employé of his, an Italian, was murdered, with his wife and child, during that terrible crisis. Had Monsieur B—— deserted his post, the water supply of Alexandria would have failed. He said it was not the people on the spot who threatened his life, but fanatics from Alexandria. The Khedive had, a few days previously to our visit, rewarded his courage and gallantry, and showed his sense of the important services he had rendered, by raising him to the rank of Bey.

The pumps are kept going night and day for six months, and the Government give a subsidy of £24,000 a year towards the expenses. Water-rates do the rest. An extension of this wholesale pumping-system to other canals would confer vast benefit upon Egypt, and such a step is actually contemplated.

The important water-way between the Nile and Egypt's greatest sea-port has a sad history, and furnishes a terrible illustration of the abuses to which the *corvée* is liable. It was constructed entirely by forced labour, and the sacrifice of life was frightful ; those who perished were buried in the embankment as the work progressed. Mehemet Ali had commanded all the Sheiks in the Delta to bring the flower of the population from their villages for the work of excavating a waterway from the Nile to Alexandria.

In obedience to this call 313,000 persons were assembled along its future course, *i.e.*, at the rate of 7,825 per mile. But the Government had, as usual with forced labour, provided neither food nor tools; the poor wretches had to dig out the canal with their fingers, and to remove the soil in baskets provided by themselves. As the work progressed and they got below the level of Lake Mareotis the water oozed in, and they toiled in fetid mud. They were kept at the work by soldiers who lined the bank with bayonets fixed; they had no respite from sunrise to sunset, and they lay in their cotton rags on the bank from sunset to sunrise, half starved, maltreated, with festering fingers, and fever-stricken frames. The tyrant's commands were urgent; in ten months his wishes were accomplished, and a canal 40 miles long and 200 feet wide was excavated with men's hands, but 23,000 of the poor wretches perished in that time from exhaustion and the cruelty of their taskmasters, and were covered up in the mud of the embankments. If placed lengthways along its course there would be throughout the route but an interval of two yards between the feet of one corpse and the skull of the next—a grim line of sentinels.

I once travelled by boat through the Mahmoudieh Canal from Alexandria to Atfeh, a distance of forty miles, but during the entire trip I could not divest myself of the feeling that I was between walls into which the bodies of 23,000 human beings had been built. As I sailed along, the banks seemed to my mind to grow transparent, and I saw nothing but those miles of skeletons, awful trophies of tyranny and cruelty on the one hand, and of human suffering and misery on the other. During this period Mehemet Ali had 193,000 men in his army

and navy, and 313,000 men on this canal, 506,000 out of a total population of five millions, devoted to his fancies and caprices, besides those employed on other public works.

The Governor of Atfeh and the Cadi stated that they were in favour of a Chamber of Notables, and they confirmed the account I had received at Talka and other places as to the principle on which the members of the Chamber were elected. The Elders of the village as well as the Sheik have a voice in the nomination. The Government is not bound to confirm the election; but may, as it often does, appoint a nominee of its own. They further stated that the office of village Sheik is not necessarily hereditary, though it generally descends from father to son. Sheiks may, at the instance of the villagers, be removed from office during their lives, on proof of misconduct. They stated further that in the rebellion in their district, it was the poor and ignorant only who joined Arabi; the educated and well informed had no faith in the success of his intrigue, and observed that he was animated only by motives of personal ambition. On leaving Atfeh we pushed on to Rosetta, which we reached before sunset the same evening. This city is within four miles of the mouth of the Nile; at a distance it is one of the prettiest towns in Egypt, and was once of considerable importance. Fifty years ago it had 25,000 inhabitants, and was the centre of an important shipping commerce; but the connecting of Alexandria with the Nile by the Mahmoudieh Canal was fatal to its prosperity. Almost the whole of its commerce has been transferred to Alexandria, and its principal business now is the export of rice, vast quantities of which are grown in the swamps in its neighbour-



hood. Its population has dwindled to less than 14,000 souls, and the quays and buildings have fallen into decay. Hardly had we cast anchor when we were called upon by the Governor, who, attended by a retinue of officials, conducted us over the town, the chief Cawass heading the procession. We had been charmed by the appearance of Rosetta from the water, but were terribly disappointed on landing. Like all Oriental cities it has very narrow streets. There had been a good deal of rain lately, and the consequence was that the streets were full of mud holes, which could only be passed by stepping stones. The bazaar and shops were very scantily furnished, still indications of its former importance were visible. In some places granite columns with Corinthian capitals could be seen. These had been taken from Roman or Greek temples; the Arabs had evinced their barbarism by planting them upside down, and turning the capitals into pedestals. Fragments of marble were also to be seen built into the walls. Sandstone quays in a ruinous condition lined the river front; a few coasting vessels had moored alongside awaiting cargoes of rice. The city was surrounded by a rampart, which, however, would be of little avail against modern artillery; it might serve to keep out the Bedouins. The one business of the town is rice. It contains several large mills for shelling this grain, and freeing it from its husk. During our visit to one of these, we ascended to the roof, and had a fine bird's-eye view of the city, which presented one curious feature; the flat tops of the houses were used for drying the rice upon, and were covered with conical heaps of that article, looking like multitudes of great ant-hills. As we passed through the streets in the

company of the Governor, we observed that marked deference was paid to him by the inhabitants, who everywhere rose, shuffled into their slippers and saluted as we passed. He told us that Egyptians of the educated class were in favour of a Chamber of Notables, but that they wished for a free and independent Chamber, with liberty to discuss all matters affecting their interests, but he clearly had in view a Patrician Assembly, whose function it should be to guard the interests of their own class. The representation of the mass of the population had no place in his scheme. With reference to representative institutions for them, he said that they were not yet fitted for self-government, like the people of Europe. He did not think that public discussion would answer at present; he said that in that neighbourhood the people had been in favour of Arabi, but that now they were undeceived, and that if he could return he would have no followers. The people were again becoming loyal to the Khedive. I questioned him about the octroi duties payable on articles brought into town for sale in the markets. He said that the money collected for these duties did not go to the Municipality, nor was it applied for the benefit of the town, but that it all went into the Imperial Exchequer, and was disposed of by the Ministry of Finance; he added that if it went to the Municipality you would not see the city in the condition in which it was. While at one of the rice mills I had some conversation with the Manager on the rice business: he said the whole district about there was devoted chiefly to rice growing. Indeed, from its swampy nature, it was not fit for much else, but the rice was very profitable, worth about £12 an acre. He

further informed me that they had to pay in advance for the grain before the crop is sown; they advance the money to the farmers—of course under a smart discount, but they themselves sometimes suffer also; that year they had lost heavily through the non-delivery of the rice paid for in advance; that was owing to the rebellion. He stated that they had paid for 5,000 ardebs, that is 8,000,000 lbs., but they had only received 2,000; 3,000 were in default, although the growers had already received their money. That was the reason the natives wished success to Arabi, because they expected to get off supplying the rice for which they had been paid in advance.

So it appears that human nature is as great a rascal in the East as it is in the West!

The Governor thought it his duty to accompany us everywhere—even out on the roof of the rice factory. I feel sure he had never seen so much of his own town before. He emerged from the mills as white as the clown in a pantomime, nor were we less mealy. I think it was the dustiest establishment I ever explored. We escaped not coffee even here, for which purpose an adjournment was made to the counting-house.

We observed in Rosetta, as in many Egyptian cities, a roving population of sheep and goats, which wander about the streets and maintain a precarious subsistence. They pick up and munch promiscuously orange-peel, banana-skins, willow-hoops of barrels, stray wisps of straw, the refuse of vegetable stalls; sometimes they have a grand windfall in the shape of a sack of rice bursting, to say nothing of small lots of that article spilt generally about the thoroughfares out of leaky parcels. Then donkey-loads of green fodder pass daily through town, and these four-footed Ishmaelites snatch

many a furtive mouthful in the obscurity and confusion of the narrow streets.

But they have not all the privilege of liberty ; some of them are tied up outside the shops and house-doors, as our informant stated, for the purpose of being fattened, though on what was not apparent. Even these, however, made the most of their opportunities. An itinerant bread vendor had laid down her basket in order the better to satisfy her curiosity ; and while she was peeping at us furtively through her veil, an extra lanky specimen of these vagabond animals seized one of the flat cakes, dragged it out of the basket, and had nearly swallowed it whole—it was much too leathery for mastication—when the lady turned on the hungry quadruped who was striving so hard to carry out the views of his proprietors and to fatten himself, and after a sharp tussle she dragged it out of his maw and took possession triumphantly. It was considerably damaged by its adventures, being covered with bas-reliefs of teeth, ragged also were its edges. Let us hope she let her customers have it at half price. The Governor was much amused at this incident.

Next morning I went on shore to return the Governor's visit. On entering the palace I found the ante-room filled with his body-guard, attired in oriental costume and armed. They formed a lane right and left for me to pass through, and stood at attention with swords drawn. It rather reminded me of one of the scenes in the opera of "The Cadi." The Governor received me in his hall of audience with much ceremony. He is a fine-looking man, of Turkish or Circassian origin. His father was admiral of the fleet. He was appointed to the Governorship immediately after Arabi's downfall.

Understanding that we wished to visit the districts on the eastern side of the river, he ordered the pilot-boat to be got ready for us, and we had a delightful cruise across. His Excellency came to see us off.

On landing we made an expedition into the rice district: the people were different from any we had yet met with in the Delta, rude and ignorant, and their rough manners presented a strong contrast to the polished courtesy which prevailed elsewhere. We passed over several miles of country to a shallow lagoon of great extent; tufts of coarse grass and reeds were growing in the water. The surface was enlivened by flocks of flamingoes, standing in regiments on their long stick-like legs. Other wild-fowl skimmed over the water, chiefly duck and red-shanks. Snipe got up almost under our feet. I should think it would be a paradise for sportsmen. The lagoon was dotted by numbers of buffaloes standing up to their bellies in their favourite element. The buffalo is amphibious, and, when it has the chance, prefers the water to the land. Here they were perfectly happy. They moved about, sometimes wading, sometimes swimming. They amused themselves by plunging their muzzles up to the eyes and dragging up the water-grasses that grow along the bottom. The scene reminded me of the swamps about Pæstum, except that there was no background of mountain. There one sees buffaloes similarly employed; they do not differ either in habit or appearance from their Egyptian congeners. The country we surveyed was as wild-looking as the people; the surface slightly undulating; the lower tracts were under water; those that emerged a little were intersected by ditches, and

by stagnant pools full of tall reeds, interspersed with patches of rude cultivation. To the north and east was an unlimited horizon of swamps ; to the west the Nile, with Rosetta and its many minarets on the far side, looking so lovely in the distance with its setting of orange and banana gardens.

From where we stood several small hamlets could be seen. They consisted of low mud-cabins thatched with rice-straw, and with much of the same article littering the ground around them ; a few camels and buffaloes were munching this, which seemed to be public property, and to be scattered there to give an idea of plenty. In the doorways sat the women, eyeing us with the greatest curiosity. My spouse tried to penetrate into one of these rude homes ; she entered and found the interior occupied by a witch-like-looking old beldame armed with a sickle, which she brandished so menacingly, at the same time pouring forth a torrent of Arabic words which did not sound like compliments, that she hastily withdrew, and attempted no more district visiting in that neighbourhood.

We made the acquaintance of a venerable-looking old fellow who told us that he was Sheik over thirteen villages or hamlets ; he said he had never seen an Englishman before. He stated that he was owner of 81 feddans of land, and that he paid 77 piastres per acre land tax ; he complained very much of the way in which every article they took to market was taxed. One of their petty industries is preparing camel and buffalo dung for fuel. One sees the walls of the houses plastered over with discs of that unsavoury article stuck there to dry ; he said even that was taxed : he evidently considered this the height of meanness. He said that

the land tax was low in that region because they were liable to serious loss from the invasion of salt water from the Mediterranean. In ordinary times the lagoons are but slightly brackish, but after a long continuance of strong north-westerly winds the level of the Mediterranean rises and overflows into the lagoons, poisoning the water and making it useless for irrigation. At such times even the Nile at Rosetta becomes too salt to drink, and the population have to resort to the wells.

This was not the season for rice growing: we therefore saw nothing of that cultivation, except the tray-like depressions in which it is planted, but which were now occupied with fodder crops and wheat on the higher ground; some cotton is grown, but not much.

He said in favourable seasons the rice was worth £12 per acre. If wheat followed it was worth £5 more, making £17 for the twelve months; more generally fodder crops were sown after rice. He could not tell me the value of these because they were chiefly fed off, but some were sent in bundles to Rosetta to be sold for the town animals. I should estimate the value of green fodder at about £4 per acre.

He confirmed the statement of the mill-owner, that rice crops were paid for in advance at a heavy discount, but was reticent on the subject of the alleged default. When the natives saw their chief so condescending to us they began to view us with more favourable feelings, our *entourage* continually increased, and by the time our tour of inspection, which lasted many hours, was over, we had quite a large following. They all accompanied us back to our boat, and we started on our return amid a chorus of salaams.

We subsequently visited the banana gardens, for

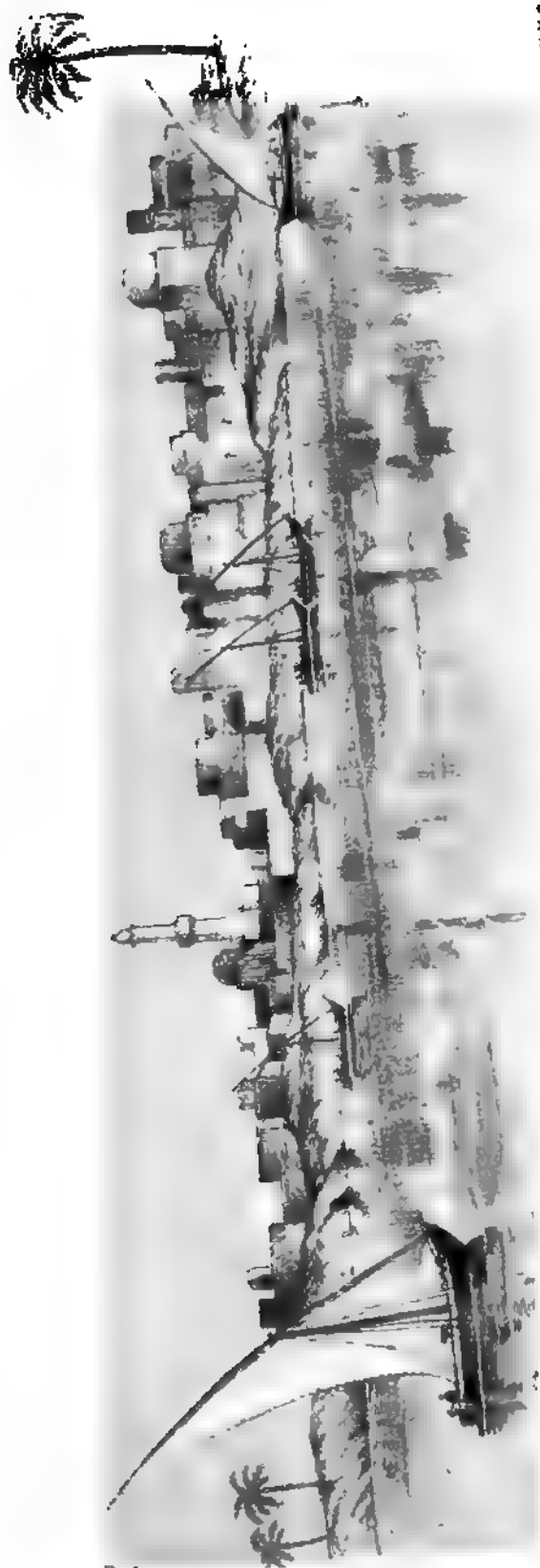
which Rosetta is famous. On entering one finds oneself walking through arcades formed by the great leaves of the noble-looking plants, which arch gracefully overhead ; they are planted in rows in January and bear fruit within twelve months. They are allowed to stand for two years, when they are rooted out ; they throw up suckers which are planted in their place. The crop is worth 40 Napoleons, *i.e.*, £32 ; and their luxuriance of production is due to the manure of the town, with which they are plentifully dressed ; the land they grow on is naturally poor and sandy, so much so that the land tax fixed on it is only 60 P. T. per acre. The owner, however, is charged a duty of 10 per cent on the produce in addition, this amounts on an average to £3 4s. per acre annually. The fruit is exported to Alexandria and Cairo, as well as retailed in Rosetta itself.

Rosetta is not more than three miles distant from the Mediterranean as the crow flies, but it is nearly twice as far by the windings of the river.









M. 6

SINDION IN THE DELTA.

PLATE 33.



## CHAPTER XII.

Abbas Pasha's Palace—Faded Grandeur—A Native Police Court—Fetters and Chains  
—A Native Magistrate's Opinions—Dessook—A famous Saint.

ON the return voyage up the Nile the general flatness of the country is relieved by sandhills, and occasionally by the huge mounds which mark the course of ancient canals. To judge from these the river level must have been higher in old times than it is now: at present the channels are completely dry.

We visited a palace which had belonged to Saïd Pasha, but is now deserted and unoccupied, the furniture done up in sacking, the carpets still spread over the decaying floors, the gilding scaling off the frames of once handsome mirrors, and the whole place a sermon on the ephemeral character of earthly grandeur. We admired the marble baths designed for the use of the harem ladies. The Palace is surrounded by twenty acres of gardens and pleasure grounds, which must once have been beautiful, marble fountains and alcoves terminating many of the walks; there were some rare shrubs and flowers; amongst the exotics were the old-fashioned English narcissus, of which the gardener was specially proud.

There was also an orangery, the trees laden with fruit, but the walks were grass grown, the flowerbeds choked with weeds, and the whole place breathed an atmosphere of neglect and decay. The gardener

insisted on sending on board after us oranges enough to last us a month.

We stopped at sunrise next morning at a place called Daroot ; it was one of a pair of twin towns which are often found facing each other on opposite sides of the Nile, and with their domes and minarets have always a most picturesque effect. I annex, hastily made, a pen-and-ink sketch of one of the minarets. In due time the Sheik and the elders and chief men appeared coming round the corner of a wall near the minaret, and strikingly effective they looked in their snowy turbans and dark-blue gowns, with a bearing full of dignity and grace. The rear was brought up by the rank and file of the inhabitants, attired in garments of varied hue.

I accompanied my visitors on shore, and accepted invitations to two or three of their houses.

Annexed are the statements of one of them, in which the rest concurred :

I own 150 feddans of land ; I pay P. T. 125 land tax, which was lowered in this district three years ago ; it was formerly higher. I consider it still very high compared with the rate on the opposite side of the river, where it is only P. T. 102 with the same quality of land. This townland contains 1,900 feddans, of which 1,000 belong to the widow of Saïd Pasha. There is a debt to money-lenders of about £2,000 on the remaining 900 acres. There is less debt here than usual.

Q. What rate of interest is paid on the 2,000 acres per month ?—A. That is not the way here in the rice districts ; we borrow every seed-time ; the sum due is

put to the account of a proportion of the rice crop, at the rate of two-thirds of the actual value ; six months afterwards, when the crop is harvested, the creditor takes that amount, and their profit is the difference between two-thirds and the full value (*i.e.*, 33 per cent. on six months).

Our people began borrowing in times past to pay the land tax, and the custom has continued ; they all do it.

We use steam-pumps for irrigation. A 6 horse-power engine irrigates 5 feddans of rice a day, and the irrigation must be repeated after three days, so that one steam-pump irrigates 15 feddans of rice altogether. Rice requires more irrigation than any other crop. There is no hiring out of steam-pump irrigation in my townland, because the 900 feddans are owned by about ten men, and these have their own steam-pumps. Rice occupies the ground seven months.

The octroi duties are vexatious ; everything is taxed when it is sold ; dung dried for fuel is taxed. The sheep taxes are especially mischievous ; there would be many more sheep kept but for them. I can state that men who have plenty of keep for twenty sheep only feed ten, because they cannot afford to pay the taxes on them.

Forced labour is a very onerous tax here. The Mudir notifies to me how many men will be required, and I assemble the farmers and tell them, and they hire labourers to do the work, otherwise they would be liable to work themselves. It is an obligation on the land to find labour in proportion towards the maintenance of canals and embankments. But it is an unnecessary aggravation that the men are sent away to other parts of the province instead of working in

their own neighbourhood, where their wives could bring them their food. They are often sent to a distance of twenty-four hours' walk, while strangers are sent here.

We pay the labourers P. T. 5 per day each ; we have to furnish twenty-five on an average.

The land tax has been lowered in our district within the last three years, and the arbitrary exactions that prevailed formerly have now ceased ; still I do not consider that we are more prosperous ; prices are lower.

The Khedive is popular amongst the fellahs ; he has done them no harm like some of the others. Those who sympathized with Arabi did so because of their ignorance ; they know better now. He told them he was engaged in a holy war.

Spontaneous question by one of the village Elders : Why did they pass so light a sentence on those who massacred and burnt Alexandria ?

My informant had been a member of the Chamber of Notables in the time of Ismail Pasha.

When we returned to the *Benisouef* the river-side was fringed with women washing clothes, and filling their pitchers with the resulting soup ; also by little mahogany imps of both sexes, some without any garment whatever, others attired from head to foot in all the brightest hues of the rainbow. I suppose the latter were infant aristocrats.

We soon afterwards reached Atfeh, where we were visited by our old acquaintances, and had also to take in a supply of coal, otherwise we should have had to go on to Alexandria to obtain that indispensable commodity. The operation completed, I called up the chief of the coal-heavers, and to reward his diligence I presented him with a sovereign to be divided amongst those who



had served us ; but he summoned all the coal-heavers in Atfeh, stating that they were bound to divide amongst all, whatever any member of the fraternity earned or was presented with, so far reaching in these days is the spirit of trades' unionism. Our satisfaction was somewhat impaired ; but the salaams we obtained at starting were much multiplied.

We landed at a town, the name of which I purposely omit, and during our explorations I came upon the court-house of the district ; the deputy governor was there engaged in administering justice. I entered and found him seated on a divan—the magisterial bench in fact ; right and left of him stood various turbaned individuals. In front were ten prisoners chained hand and foot. I never, even on the stage, saw such manacles and fetters—each link was about six inches long. Not only were their wrists chained to their ankles, but they had iron collars round their necks, and by means of these they were chained to one another. His worship was obviously annoyed by my intrusion, and hastily commanded the removal of the prisoners, who shuffled out in single-file as well as they could amid awful clanking and clatter. He then politely invited me to sit on his right hand, and ordered in coffee and cigarettes ; enquired after my health and my travels ; and the last news from England and my impressions of Egypt : thinking in his mind all the time what a nuisance it was my having come in just when the prisoners happened to be there, and wondering whether there was any fear of my reporting it at head-quarters. I, on my part, knew oriental etiquette too well to make any allusion to them, and looked as if I regarded them as mere matter of course ornamental accessories to a police court. I was wondering all the

time and longing to know what horrible crimes they could have committed, no doubt they were desperate malefactors. Towards the end of our interview, and as a sort of postscript to our conversation, his worship said, taking a hasty glance at me, and removing the ash off the end of his cigarette: "You observed some prisoners here as you came in?" I intimated in reply that I thought I did recall some such circumstance. "Those men," said he, "have not paid their taxes!" "No doubt," said I, "they are impoverished by the rebellion." "Ah," he exclaimed, "they either have the money or know where to get it if they wish. There were ten this morning, but three have since paid, and the rest will do so before I have done with them."

I was aware that when he said the wretched men knew where to get it, he had the usurers in his mind's eye; and no doubt those useful adjuncts to oriental life, will make a good thing out of their necessities.

I now arose to leave, and his worship insisted on accompanying me to the boat. As we issued forth the prisoners were squatting on the ground in a row along the wall of the ante-room; the nearest one jumped to his feet to show respect to his judge, forgetting that he was attached to his neighbour's neck—he nearly jerked off the poor fellow's head, who in his turn jumped up with the same result, and a spasm passed across the face of each in succession, as if he was being hanged—indeed it was a good imitation by way of preliminary experience. We strolled back to the water side, followed by all the turbaned individuals already mentioned, and by a constantly increasing retinue of townspeople.

On the way his worship made the following observations:—

“There is a very large amount of indebtedness in my district. It has been seriously increased by the stringent orders issued by the Government as to the collection of taxes. My instructions are to get in the taxes at all costs. The fellahs find it unusually difficult to pay owing to the incidents of the rebellion ; for three months irrigation and field work was interrupted, and the harvest has suffered accordingly. In the time of Saïd Pasha, when exceptional circumstances justified it, indulgence was shown to the fellahs ; he even set up steam-pumps for their benefit, but now no indulgence is given. The consequence is that they have to borrow to pay taxes at any price they can get the money ; the usurers refuse to lend except at greatly enhanced rates. Numbers will be ruined, and their land sold up ; you must go to the Mixed Tribunals to find out how many have already been sold up ; that does not come within my province, nor can I give you a reliable estimate of the proportions of indebtedness in my district.

“District loan banks would be invaluable, but *they ought to be under Government supervision* ; inquiry ought to be made into the circumstances of each application, for the fellahs are very improvident and ignorant, and will borrow more than necessary while about it. They will also often pretend they cannot pay when they are well able.

“The usurers are exacting from 3 to 5 per cent. per month of four weeks, *i.e.*, from 39 to 65 per cent. per annum, though they have the land as security.

“The Egyptians expect and are looking for important and beneficial reforms at the hands of the English. All sensible men know that England has saved Egypt from ruin. They welcome the English here. My district comprises 58,000 feddans.”

Understanding that I wished for some information about agriculture in the rice regions, he called to the front a landowner of the district, and introduced me to him. He gave me the following information.

“The system upon which irrigation by steam-pumps is rented hereabouts is as follows:—

“If it is a rice crop that is to be irrigated, the owner of the crop agrees to give to the owner of the steam-pump one-quarter of the entire crop. If it is cotton, one-fifth of the entire crop. The reason of the difference is that rice must be irrigated oftener than cotton. Sometimes payment is made on the footing of so much in cash for each watering—half a Napoleon. Cotton must be watered not less than eight times between planting and harvesting; the cost of its irrigation, therefore, is 4 Napoleons per feddan; wheat costs less.”

Continuing on our course we passed Fouah; it looked charming from the river, in the loop of a sudden bend of which it is situated. It seemed to be bathed in glory, domes and minarets glowing with the gold of the setting sun. It boasts a manufactory of the crimson fez caps so universally worn in Egypt.

It has seen better days, and was once a large and important town. Among the relics of departed greatness are granite door-steps; stolen evidently from the ruins of Sais, a fact betrayed by the names and titles of the kings who made that city their capital.

Fouah was still an important place four centuries ago, so that it has had an unusually long lease of life, having survived from the times of the Pharaohs until modern days. There are many date groves around it.

One of the localities we visited was Dessook, where the chief townsmen took us to see the shrine of a saint of

whom they are particularly proud. This worthy's fame has now lasted for 600 years, acquiring an ever-increasing halo of sanctity as time went on, like old crusted port. We were not, of course, allowed to enter the sacred precincts, but as a special privilege we were allowed to peep at the shrine through the open door of the mosque which enjoyed the distinguished honour of containing it. The saint's name is Sheikh Ibrahim-ed-Dessooke, and an annual pilgrimage is made by Moslem devotees to pray at his tomb. Of course this anniversary is made the occasion of the greatest fête of the Dessook year. We tried hard to ascertain what he had done, or what he had suffered, to endow him with such deathless prestige, but no one seemed to know. Like the children in Southey's poem, they only knew that it was "a very famous victory."

As we found that our enquiries on this head involved a loss of popularity, we desisted. They are building a new mosque now, and Dessook seems to be a rising, bustling place, with thriving and busy bazaars; a good sign is that there are many Jews, for they only go where money is to be made. A member of that enterprising race sold us some interesting antiquities.

## CHAPTER XIII.

**Sa-el-Hagar—The Brothers Sakelarides : their Museum : their Cotton Factory : their Opinions and Evidence—Cotton Culture—Agricultural Statistics.**

THE next place worth mentioning at which we stopped was Sa-el-Hagar, "Sa of the Stones." The object of our landing was to visit a large cotton-ginning establishment, the tall chimneys of which were conspicuous from the river. We walked along the embankment, and then inland for some distance to reach it. We were most courteously received by the proprietors, two Greek gentlemen, brothers, of the name of Sakelarides. They took us to their house, a modern building with a court in the centre, which they had converted into a very charming garden, brilliant with roses, crimson hibiscus, geraniums, &c.

Their apartments were elegantly furnished. They showed us some interesting relics from the ruins of Saïs close by. Bronzes, terra-cotta, marble, &c. Among these were statuettes of various Egyptian deities with the inscription on the back, "May he give thee life, health, stability, and purity!" evidently a favourite form of birthday present among the Saïtes—and a graceful one. But they told us that they had had a much larger and more important collection at their head-quarters at Alexandria. In fact, it was quite a museum of the relics of Saïs, but alas ! all had perished in the cruel conflagration which the European quarter of

the city had suffered at the hands of the rebels. It happens only too often that the memorials of ancient days which the earth has preserved so safely and so well for ages are hunted down and extracted at last only to be finally annihilated. In the course of conversation the elder brother said :

“ My mill was not injured in the rebellion. I am on very good terms with the Sheiks about here. This year I have bought only 10,000 kantars of cotton ; usually I buy from 20,000 to 30,000. The deficit is owing to the worm. It attacks the leaves of the plants. The deficit in the crop amounts to fully from one-third to one-half in this district.

“ There is a great difference in the value of different staples of cotton grown about here. I can afford to give P. T. 425 per cwt. for this best quality long staple (showing me some) ; it is not so white as the other, but the length of staple determines its value. The length of staple is affected by deficient or abundant irrigation. Ordinary qualities are worth from about 280 to 350 P. T.”

*Q.* Do you use your engine (50 horse-power) for pumping water when no ginning is going on ?—*A.* No, it would not pay us ; first, because we are too far from the Nile and would have to make a special canal ; secondly, because the fellahs about here club together and buy portable steam-pumps for themselves. We could not, therefore, get customers enough to make it worth our while.

If the Government wish to develop the agriculture of the country by improved irrigation, the best way to effect it would be by establishing, at the mouths of the canals, powerful pumping-engines capable of keeping them full at low Nile. Their services would be most needed

in May and June, when the cotton often suffers for want of water. Yet that is the very crisis at which it most needs irrigation. I have known the crops at that period remain for thirty or forty days without water. They ought to be irrigated every fifteen days at that stage of their growth.

Only two factories were burned near this in the late outbreak; the Sheiks in this neighbourhood behaved very well. Even at Tantah, where the worst massacres took place, the Christians would not have been murdered but for the people who came from Alexandria and stirred up the inhabitants of Tantah; 300 Christians were saved through the exertions of a Sheik in that neighbourhood. He is of Bedouin extraction, and with twenty-five Bedouins he entered the town, and, armed with revolvers, took the Christians out of the hands of the rabble, who were already dragging them through the streets. He brought them to his own village, sent for materials to make garments to clothe them, and, after feeding them for five days, he paid their railway fare to Ismaïliah.

I may add that for this noble and generous deed he has never received any public acknowledgment or recompense.

On the subject of village debts he said that if loan banks were established, it should be under official supervision, as the natives were prone to borrow rather recklessly, *e.g.*, to buy new wives and other luxuries. Care should be taken not to advance them money except for sound objects.

The brothers regaled us with some sweetmeat, made of dates from a Greek recipe. We felt rather nervous on this dainty being produced, having already suffered much



from many oriental delicacies. We were agreeably surprised, however, to find it excellent. The elder brother observed during our interview, "You English are very clever—others would have hanged Arabi—you knew better, you let him off to make the natives think he was in league with you. Nothing now will persuade them to the contrary. It has damned him in their view as a traitor for ever." They were both justly proud of the fact that while other establishments had been destroyed in the rebellion, their popularity with the natives had saved their own from injury. The elder brother was the head of the firm, he now conducted us to the factory; we passed through a great court-yard into which camels were bringing loads of cotton to be ginned, and the whole place was strewn with bales and packages.

On entering, we found ourselves amid a world of wheels, belts, shafts, and spindles, all flying round in a great hurry. Iron jaws with shark-like teeth were masticating the cotton, and delivering it out in glistening cataracts of silky fibre. A legion of little brown imps, scantily clad, were attending these machines, collecting, sorting, and packing. But for the factory they would have been idle; now they earned a revenue for their parents, and were brought up in habits of industry. These enterprising gentlemen were, clearly, great benefactors to the locality, furnishing a ready market close at hand for all the cotton grown in the district. Besides giving a great deal of employment, they also promoted improvement among the farmers, putting them in the way of obtaining the best kinds of cotton seed, and suggesting the most advantageous methods of cultivation. It is not surprising, therefore, that they were popular.

The value of cotton per acre varies much. The best land, treated in the best manner, has been known to produce eight kantars to the acre (a kantar is about 90 lbs.); that is the highest produce I have heard mentioned. The average is five. The value also varies much.

300 P. T. per kantar is a common price for good ordinary cotton; this would make about £15 per acre the value of an average crop of the commonest quality. The same crop of best quality would be worth £20 to £21, while the highest stated produce, viz., eight kantars, if of the very best quality would be worth £31—*i.e.* such local merchants as Sakelarides would give these prices on the spot for these respective crops. I enter minutely into this question of the value of Egyptian cotton crops because it is the most important in an agricultural point of view that can be taken into account in considering the actual resources of Egypt, and the possibilities of their future development.

It will be seen that on the same town-land the value of an acre of cotton may range between £15 and £31, the latter splendid result being due most of all to abundant irrigation, not of course without the highest class culture; but the latter is in the power of the grower. The former is in the power of the State, for it depends upon the facilities given by a thoroughly efficient canal system, which it is the duty of the latter to supply, but which is still very defective.

As a general rule cotton is grown only every third year on the same land; it could be grown every alternate year, provided sufficient water were available, but as a matter of fact a farmer can seldom irrigate more than one third of his farm, in any one year, sufficiently

for cotton: two-thirds of his farm are consequently occupied by cereal and fodder crops. The value of these I have already stated:—wheat, £5 per acre, maize £4, beans £4, fodder £4. As three crops are grown within 12 months on the same land in the Delta, the produce of an acre on the 3 years' system would be as follows:—

	£
1st year, cotton, £15; wheat £5 . . . . .	20
2nd year, fodder, £4; beans, £4; maize, £4 . . . . .	12
3rd year, wheat, £5; fodder, £4; lentils, £4 . . . . .	13
Total gross value of produce for 3 years	<u>£45</u>

*i. e.*, £15 per annum per acre.

This is at the average level of prices. In some seasons they may be exceptionally low. They may also be exceptionally high. Of course the crops are one and all liable to accidents; the cotton may be attacked by the worm—all may suffer from a low Nile. I am aware that official reports have been published, putting the average gross value of crops much lower, but it is very difficult to arrive at the truth, when it is the interest of those from whom ultimately the information is obtained to mislead. It is the obvious interest of the Fellahs to minimize their produce, lest if the truth were known it might be made a pretext for increasing their taxation. I obtained my information on the spot. I visited the lands acre by acre, I put natives of various classes through a close cross-examination; I led up to the points I wished to ascertain, approaching it from various sides and in indirect ways, as well as questioning them point blank as to the value of each crop. An example of what I mean will be found on page 19.

I also often arrived incidentally at the same result, natives unsuspectingly making admissions from which the truth could be inferred. I further obtained information from resident Europeans, such as the Messrs. Sakelarides. It must be remembered that I cross-examined a great variety of persons in almost every province in Egypt; I have no hesitation in vouching for the correctness of the averages I have given. Great landowners, like Nubar Pasha, are not likely to be well informed, because it is the interest of the managers of their estates to conceal from them the truth. Neither he nor the officials at Cairo can get at the truth without travelling from district to district as I did, and seeing things for themselves, and they must do that incog.



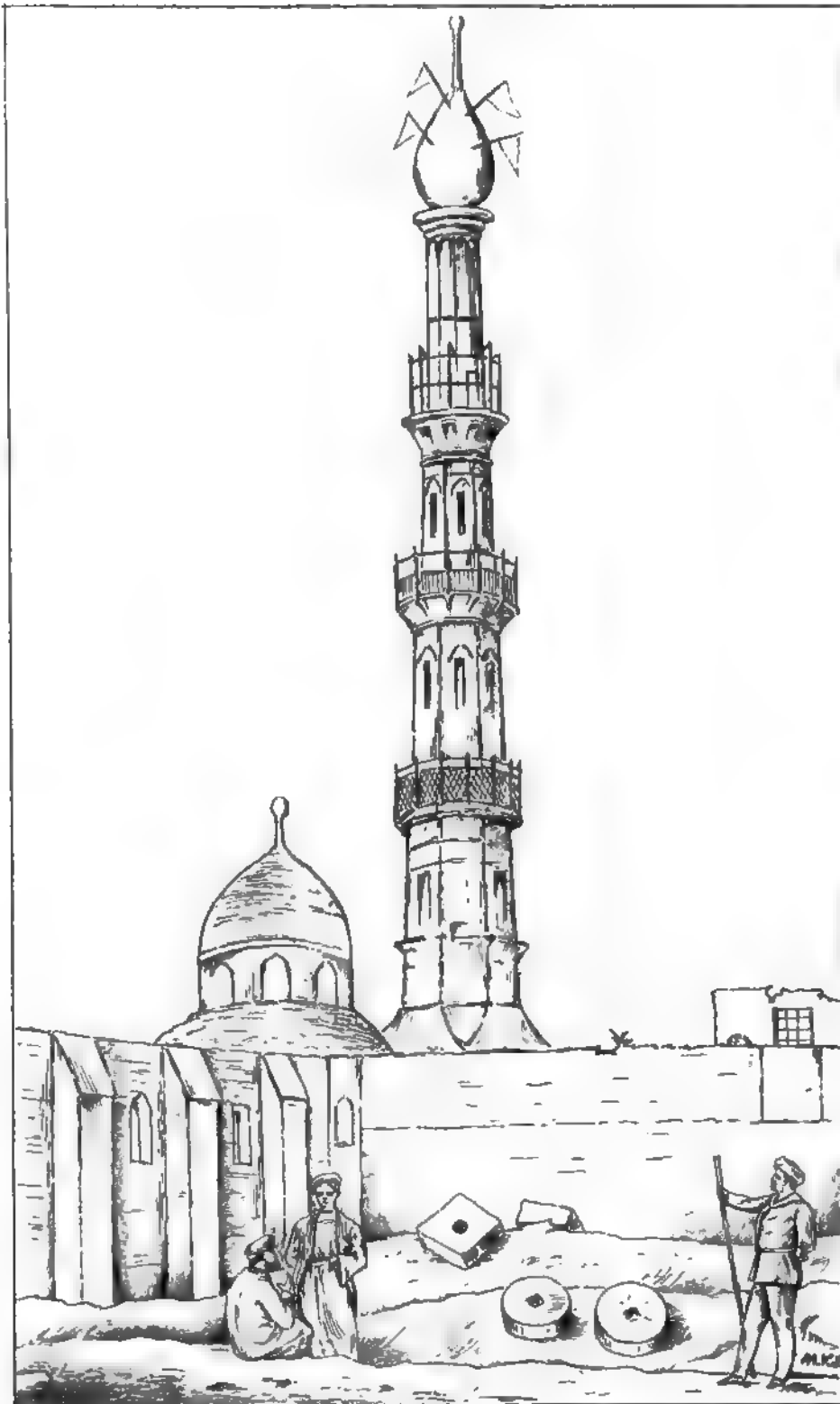


PLATE LIX.

MINARET AT DÉIROUT

## CHAPTER XIV.

Promenade to Saïs—Escort of Villagers : their observations—The Shell of an ancient Metropolis—Remnants of the interior—Description of it by Herodotus, as it existed 2,400 years ago—A generous Host.

ON leaving the factory we walked across country to the ruins of Saïs. We were accompanied by many villagers. Two owned 12 feddans each, one owned 1,000 feddans, others owned farms of various sizes. I give some of the scraps of conversation that passed :

This townland contains 2,080 feddans; there is a debt upon it to money-lenders of about £15,000, bearing interest from  $2\frac{1}{2}$  to 4 per cent. per month of four weeks.

The Mixed Tribunals have done much mischief; they sell up summarily the lands of debtors.

The taxes this year have been paid with great difficulty by the fellahs. They have had to borrow, and the situation is much worse than it was in consequence.

One fellah said, " I own 12 feddans, and I owe £100. I have to pay £52 per annum interest on this."

(*Note.*—The interest in this case, therefore, exceeds £4 per acre per annum, and is about  $2\frac{1}{2}$  times the amount of the land tax.)

The forced labour is very onerous; it goes on from four to six months in the year. One-eighth of our population are taken away for it. Some pay sub-

stitutes, others go themselves ; they have to go to any part of the Mudirieh to which they are ordered, away from their wives and families ; that makes it worse, it is so much more difficult to send them food and other necessities.

We are thankful to England for saving us from the ruin that Arabi would have brought upon us. The collection of taxes is also now more honest and less oppressive and unjust than it used to be some years ago.

We think it would be a good plan to assess the privileged lands for taxation the same as all other lands, and to apply the proceeds to abolishing the vexatious octroi duties.

The Mixed Tribunals are not suited to our country and our people. If there is a dispute about £100 worth of property, a man loses £200 in trying to recover it. The process lasts too long and is too costly ; we want something more quick and short (*i.e.*, more summary).

The land here produces 5 cwt. of cotton per feddan ; the best quality fetches over P. T. 400 per kantar (90 lbs.) ; ordinary, about P. T. 350. Most of it is sold to the ginning-mills close by. After the cotton is gathered we immediately sow lucerne, or sometimes wheat, before the cotton stubble is pulled up.

(N.B.—The village elders here spontaneously asked me to explain to them the English Bankruptcy Law. They complained bitterly of the action of the Mixed Tribunals, which they assured me confiscated their land for debts which did not amount to a tenth part the value of the land. This has been stated to me over and over again in so many different places that there



must be some foundation for it ; they wished to ascertain whether there is, in the English Bankruptcy Law, any protection against such a wrong.

They complained also that no regard was had to the fact that the original debt was often small ; that it had been paid back many times over in the shape of exorbitant interest ; and that the debt for which they were processed was made up entirely of interest at most usurious rates. In most cases the original debt was incurred through no fault of their own, but in consequence of unjust exactions.

Land which can produce cotton worth £20 per acre must be very valuable, yet the usurers, they tell me, often get hold of it for £30 per acre, by means of foreclosing and sales enforced through the Mixed Tribunals.)

Meanwhile we were approaching the huge ramparts of the Royal city which struck Herodotus so much during his visit here nearly 2,400 years ago.

The great walls are nearly perfect, built of sun-dried bricks, with layers of reeds between the courses ; this is the case with all the walls of ancient Egyptian towns which I have examined. The ramparts are 70 feet thick, and about 50 feet high. The parapet is wide enough at top for several chariots to have driven abreast along it.

The space enclosed is nearly square, the exterior of the walls being about 800 yards one way by 650 the other. We scrambled up to the summit, and were rewarded by a most interesting view. Looking down into the interior we saw at the far side of the vast court, the basin of the sacred lake spoken of by the Greek historian ; this was now dry, and had been planted with a fodder crop

amid which sheep and buffaloes were browsing. In the centre rose great tower-like masses of brickwork, portions probably of the king's palace ; behind and around these were still standing the walls of the ground floor of private houses. On the north side near the lake once stood the Tombs of the Kings, and the Temple of Sefeck, the Egyptian Minerva. The site of the latter may still be traced by remnants of mounds marking the temenos or sacred enclosure ; this was more than 200 yards square, The mass of ruins in the centre is called by the Arabs " el Kala," the Citadel.

It was a curious spectacle. The floor upon which we looked down had once been an area covered with palaces, temples, and streets teeming with a busy population ; now it was a twelve-acre field, enclosed by walls 50 feet high, the biggest of paddocks ! All round the ruins in the centre, live stock were grazing, tended by a couple of fellahs in the usual felt skull-caps, blue shirts down to the knee, and naked legs.

Herodotus, in his description of Saïs, states that the • priests showed him or pretended to show him the tomb of Osiris, and asserted that it was situated behind the temple of " Minerva " (Sefeck or perhaps Neith) ; in the grove of the temple he saw several pairs of large stone obelisks. He goes on to say, " Near this is a lake cased with stone, circular, and about the size of that at Delos, called Trochoïdes. On this lake are represented at night the sufferings of him, concerning whom, though much is known to me, I shall preserve strict silence, except as far as it may be right for me to speak. The Egyptians call them mysteries. I shall observe the same caution with regard to the institutions of Ceres, called Thesmo-phoria, which were brought from Egypt by the

daughters of Danäus, and afterwards taught by them to the Pelasgic women." Saïs was the place where the "fête of burning lamps" was particularly "celebrated during a certain night, when every one lighted lamps in the open air around his house. They were small cups full of salt (and water ?) and oil, with a floating wick which lasted all night. Strangers went to Saïs from different parts of Egypt to assist at this ceremony; but those who could not be present lighted lamps at their own homes, so that the festival was kept, not only at Saïs, but throughout the country."

From the accounts given of it the temple of Minerva appears to have been of great splendour. "Amasis added to it some very beautiful propylæa, exceeding all others both in height and extent, as well as in the dimensions of the stones and in other respects. He also placed there several large colossi and androsphinxes, and brought numerous blocks of extraordinary size to repair the temple, some from the quarries near Memphis, and the largest from Elephantine, a distance of 20 days' sail from Saïs."

"But," adds Herodotus, "what I admire most is an edifice of a single block brought from the latter place: 2000 men, all boatmen, were employed three years in its transport to Saïs. It is 21 cubits long externally, 14 broad, 8 high: and its measurements within are 16 cubits 20 digits long, 12 broad, and 5 high. It stands at the entrance of the sacred enclosure; and the reason given by the Egyptians for its not having been admitted is, that Amasis, hearing the architect utter a sigh, as if fatigued by the length of time employed and the labour he had undergone, considered it so bad an omen, that he would not allow it to be taken any further; though

others affirm that it was in consequence of a man having been crushed while moving it with levers."

Herodotus also describes the grand palace of the kings which Apries left to attack Amasis, and to which he shortly was brought back a prisoner.

The Egyptian name of this city was written Ssa, which is retained in the modern Sa; and the Saïs of ancient authors was the same, with a Greek termination.

As I gazed down into that historic area, I tried to replace in imagination the temple, the grove, the obelisks, the palace, the statues, and the lake, to restore the narrow streets and crowded houses, and to repeople the town with its ancient citizens, the coloured men with their wigs and elaborate necklaces of bead-work, their bracelets and armlets, their bodies naked to the waist, their embroidered petticoats, bare legs, and sandalled feet, and the women who, in the time of Herodotus, would have worn dresses of semitransparent gauze with flowing sleeves, a sash round their waists, and a fillet round their heads, and lotus flowers in their hair.

I tried to conjure up the animated scene of the feast of lamps as described by Herodotus, the king and his courtiers, and priests in their leopard skins, a brilliant procession on their way to the temple, when my reverie was interrupted by my wife's maid, who, seized by a sudden impulse, rushed down the steep slope, into the arena below. The Arabs, accustomed to the subdued behaviour of their own women, declared she was an Afreet. However, it resulted in our following her example, and we began exploring the ruins. It is evident that the population soon outgrew the limits of the walls, and overflowed into the sur-

rounding neighbourhood, in which the remains of houses still attested the existence of extensive suburbs. It reminded me of Vienna, where, until recently, the old town continued to be surrounded by ramparts, while beyond them was quite a world of brick and mortar—the so-called Vorstadt.

Probably Saïs proper came to be almost exclusively occupied by the Royal establishment, the courtiers, priests and aristocracy, leaving room for but a small proportion of the rank and file of the population. Every morsel of granite and marble had long ago been carried away by the Arabs for the mosques and other public buildings in neighbouring towns, and nothing remained but structures of sun-dried bricks. I, however, found a granite hand.

On our way back we passed through the suburbs, a wilderness of ruined walls, and on reaching the town of Sa-el-Hagar, I was invited by a native merchant to visit him. He also promised us horses to carry us back to the steamer. We were received in the usual manner, and a long conversation took place, confirmatory of what I have already recorded. Coffee was served flavoured with cinnamon, which was more palatable than might be anticipated. He accompanied us on our return journey, and we were joined by the Messrs. Sakelarides, who loaded us with fruit and flowers. While taking leave of the native merchant and thanking him for the horses, I was so indiscreet as to praise the one I had been riding: he immediately begged me to accept it, and take it with me to Cairo!

## CHAPTER XV.

### *Khabrakeet—Opinions of a Peasant Proprietor.*

IN the evening we stopped at a village called Khabrakeet, and I got into conversation with a small peasant proprietor there; he seemed pleased at our taking an interest in his affairs, and became very communicative. He said in reply to my questions:—

I own  $5\frac{1}{2}$  feddans, I pay P. T. 140 land tax per feddan. There is a great deal of debt on this townland. My neighbour owns 20 feddans, and has upon it a debt to the usurers of £140 or £150, *i.e.*, about £7 per feddan; the interest is from 3 to 4 per cent. per month of four weeks; it much exceeds the land tax. There was much difficulty in paying the land tax this year; we had to borrow more and increase our debt. Many of us were beaten with the courbash (hippopotamus-hide whip).

Nothing would be better than loan banks advancing money at about 1 per cent. per month of four weeks, *i.e.*, 13 per cent. per annum.

There is no such thing as justice here for a poor man; he has no chance of getting justice unless he can make presents (*i.e.*, bribe).

My own debt is £20, on  $5\frac{1}{2}$  feddans; I pay 4 per cent. interest per month of four weeks.

The octroi duties are very mischievous and vexing;

they are charged on every kind of produce and article that we sell, even on dried dung ; these duties are at the rate of 10 per cent. on the value ; they interfere with us very much.

Steam-pumps are now often used ; several fellahs become partners and set up a pump between them ; each of them pays 10 fr. per feddan for each watering his crop gets ; this 10 fr. is to cover the cost of coal, of oil, and working expenses of the engine ; if he is not a partner he must pay 20 fr. for each watering per feddan.

Cotton must be watered from four or five times at least, wheat twice, maize twice, fodder crops twice at least.

We use portable engines because they are convenient to move from one canal to another as occasion arises.

One-third of the adult males of the village have sometimes to work at forced labour on the repair of embankments, the cleaning and deepening of canals, and other such ; whingsit varies in different seasons and in different districts. We must either work ourselves or pay a substitute ; if there are four brothers on one farm, two go to the works and two remain to mind the farm ; this goes on from four to six months in the year. It is a very heavy tax ; what makes it much worse is that we are liable to be sent out of our own neighbourhood to distant districts.

Those who possess 100 feddans of land and upwards are exempt either from working themselves or employing labourers ; they are exempt if they belong to the privileged class of Sheiks or Notables.

Many in that district had wished Arabi success because he had promised to cancel the debts ; for no

other reason. Now they saw he had deceived them, and their minds had changed about him.

The land tax is collected more justly now than formerly. Men knew what they had to pay, and they were not made to pay more.

The sheep tax is unjust and bad, it prevents men breeding as many sheep as they otherwise would ; he was not now speaking of the poll tax on sheep alone, but of the whole group of taxes affecting sheep—on the wool, on the sale, on the slaughtering, &c. About the date-palm tax he could not say ; very few were grown about there.

Q. Well, if you were created Governor-General of Egypt, with power to institute new laws and reform old ones, what reforms and improvements would you make ?

He laughed and replied, “ I am an ignorant man ; I cannot read or write ; I could not make laws for all Egypt ; but, so far as the fellahs are concerned, I would abolish all octroi duties, I would lower the land tax, I would assess the forced labour equally at so much per feddan ; and as for the usurers, if they behaved well and charged only 1 per cent. per month on the debts, I would let them stay, but if they charged more, I would banish them, and establish loan banks in every district.”



## CHAPTER XVI.

The Estate of Nubar Pasha—System of Farming—Town of Neguilleh—An Upright Governor—A Native's Estimate of his Fellow-Countrymen—Terraneh—A Descendant of the Prophet—Carbonate of Soda—The Natron Lakes—The Origin of Natron explained—Native Opinions.

NEXT day we passed Kafr Zayat ; subsequently we stopped at Neguilleh, in the province of Baheireh, and I crossed the river to visit a small estate belonging to Nubar Pasha, wishing to see the system of irrigation and farm management upon it. I made the acquaintance of the manager. He was decidedly reserved in his communications ; however, he conducted me over the pumping works, on which the whole estate depends for its irrigation. There was a tall chimney-shaft, a substantially built engine-room, and the water flowed out of this through a stone-lined channel, like the sluice of a mill-stream ; it then formed a main canal of three or four feet diameter, which ran the whole length of the estate—branches, channels, and water-courses leading off right and left.

The appearance of the fields did not differ from that of the ordinary farms of the fellahs. The manager in reply to my questions said :

“ This estate contains 200 acres ; it is irrigated by a steam-pump of 20 horse-power, which is old-fashioned, being twenty years old ; we are about erecting a new one, which will only consume half as much coal. This one gets through its work at the rate of 5 feddans per

day, and the expenses amount to about 8s. per feddan for watering. We water cotton six times. Our cotton is called 'Cotton of the Nobles;' we can afford to water it oftener than the fellahs, so it is of better quality and fetches a higher price. We employ twenty labourers. They lease land from us in conacre; they do not repay us in cash, but with half the produce.

"Our land produces about 5 kantars of cotton per feddan. There is a great difference in soils in estimating irrigation; some land is sandy and swallows up all the water, other is stiff and retains it.

"We have mulberry trees, but we make no use of the fruit, nor do we grow silk. Near Zagazig they feed silkworms and grow seed (*i.e.*, eggs), but not here."

On my return to the other side I visited the town of Neguilleh, and conversed with various farmers there. One of them said:—

"This townland contains 800 feddans. There is debt upon it amounting to £6,000, owing to usurers.

"The interest paid upon this annually is at the rate of 2, 3, and 4 per cent. per month of four weeks. The land tax is at the rate of P. T. 140, £1 8s. per feddan. The interest of the debt is therefore much more than the land tax. Two per cent. per month is charged only on small loans not exceeding £15. I and my brothers own among us 200 feddans; the debt upon our lot is £800.

"I suggest, as the best remedy against the evil of usury, places in each district where money could be borrowed at moderate interest."

Q. What would you consider moderate interest?—A. Nine per cent. per annum. Our debt was contracted during the time of Ismail Pasha.

I and my brothers have clubbed together and set up a steam-pump, 8 horse-power. This waters all our 200 acres, and we irrigate for others besides, at the rate of 15 lbs. of cotton for each watering, equivalent to about 10s. per feddan each watering. We find our steam-pump very profitable. It is cheaper and much quicker than the water-wheel. It would be a very great benefit to this district if the canals were kept full at low Nile by steam-power; the produce of cotton would be doubled and the quality improved. There are several canals about here, but they are dry in April, May, and June, the season when water is most wanted.

We have a just and upright Mudir; he does not accept presents; he has been here about a year. All the others before him were unjust and oppressive; but if a change of Government takes place he will be taken away, because the Mudirs change with the Government.

Q. What nationality is he? Is he an Egyptian?—A. No; he is an Osmanli (a Turk).

Q. Would you prefer an Egyptian?—A. Well, if he governed uprightly; but in my experience fellahs—wealthy fellahs, in the time of Ismail—paid large sums to be made Governors, and they oppressed the people more than all the others.

Q. If you cannot have an upright Egyptian, is it indifferent to you whether you have a Turk or a European to govern you?—A. We have no experience of the Europeans, and cannot tell how they would govern us, but we know the Turks.

(It was evident to me that this witness—a thoroughbred Egyptian—had very little sentimental preference, and attached very little weight to any other consideration than that of good government, no matter by whom.)

Q. What is your opinion of the Chamber of Notables?  
—A. I know nothing about them. I have heard that such a thing exists at Masr (Cairo).

Fifty men are required from our townland for forced labour. They have been sent to the Barrage (66 miles off); they remain there eight months. We have to pay them P. T. 4 per day each. This is equivalent to a tax of £400 on this townland of 800 feddans, *i.e.*, 10s. per feddan.

We would prefer their being employed in our own district. The fellahs have had great difficulty in paying the land tax this year; 50 per cent. of the cotton crop was lost by the worm. We have not been beaten for being unable to pay our taxes this year, but we used to be beaten up to three years ago.

The cotton about here sells for about P. T. 300 per kantar.

There is a poll tax on artizans—5 per cent. on their income.

Nothing worth recording occurred on our way back to the Barrage, until we came to a village called Terraneh; this is situated at the terminus of a road leading inland across the desert to the Natron lakes. These are sheets of water of considerable extent, about thirty miles to the west of the Nile; they occur in a very desolate region where the soil is poisoned by alkaline salts, so that nothing will grow, except a peculiar kind of rush which is exported to Cairo to make mats.

Natron is a mixture of substances containing a large percentage of carbonate of soda, which gives it its value. The following is probably the history of its production. The whole of the desert was once covered by the sea, and

contains sea salt ; where this comes in contact with limestone (carbonate of lime), and is exposed to the action of water, a double decomposition takes place. The muriate of soda (common salt) parts with its muriatic acid to the lime, forming muriate of lime, and the carbonate of lime parts with its carbonic acid to the soda, forming carbonate of soda, but the latter only is soluble. The water of the lakes, therefore, contains only the latter, which forms a crust on the surface as the water evaporates. The natron brought to Terraneh contains—

46	per cent.	of subcarbonate of soda,
22	„	sulphate of soda,
18	„	water,
14	„	sand, chalk, oxide of iron, and other
—		impurities.
100		

It is a curious thing that although the lakes are between thirty and forty miles from the river, yet the water in them rises and falls with the river, making its way all that distance through the pores of the soil ; it travels, however, very slowly, for high tide in the lakes occurs ninety days later than high Nile, and low tide follows the same rule ; the percolation, therefore, occupies three months. It is at low tide that the salt is collected ; this crisis occurs about Midsummer, and forms the annual harvest of the good people of Terraneh, who would be very badly off without it, as their town-land is not fertile ; at the proper season they camp out on the desert in the Natron valley and collect its products, which they transport on camels and asses to the river side. Terraneh is of course the depot whence it is shipped to Alexandria. It is curious how even this

harvest—like all else in Egypt—is dependent ultimately upon the Nile, without whose annual rise and fall there would be no crop of soda.

I made the acquaintance here of an old gentleman with a pock-marked face and a green turban, who appeared to be the most important personage in the locality. His spinach-coloured head-dress proclaimed that he was a descendant of the Prophet, an assertion difficult to controvert, as there is no Committee of Privileges here to sift it. He conducted me through the town and across the cultivated lands to the banks of the canal, which was already very low, and would evidently soon fail altogether. The poor people will then have no means of irrigation. From this cause they cannot grow cotton. If the canal were deepened so as always to hold water it would effect a complete revolution in their agriculture, and confer upon them that prosperity which is at present evidently not their lot. We were accompanied on our tour of inspection by a large percentage of the community, to whom a visit from a European was evidently a novelty. We conversed as we went along, the retinue referred to forming a chorus, who, as in a Greek play, confirmed the statement of their chief.

“ Our townland contains 600 feddans ; the land tax is P. T. 90 ; the debt upon it is not more than £1,200 or £1,400, the interest on which is at the rate of 39 per cent. per annum ; this debt is due to Syrian and Greek money-lenders on the other side of the river. The reason why the debt is small is that our land is not productive, and there is nothing to tempt the usurers. The land is poor because it is difficult of irrigation, the level being rather high ; we can easily irrigate it while the canal is full ; if it could be kept full by steam-pumps the produc-

tion would be doubled, and we could grow cotton ; now we can only grow maize, wheat, and fodder. We keep sheep, but the sheep taxes interfere with this industry, and we would rear twice as many if they were abolished.

“What debt we have is in consequence of the Moukabala. After we had already paid our land tax, we were compelled to pay it a second time under the name of Moukabala. We were told it would be deducted from future taxes, but no deduction was ever made. The first year it was P. T. 100 per feddan, and afterwards P. T. 50 per feddan per annum. It ceased to be levied three years ago.

“The canal which runs behind our town is the source whence our lands are irrigated ; it is already very low ; it goes right through the province of Baheireh to Alexandria. If it were kept full it would be an enormous benefit to the entire province, the productiveness of which would be at least doubled.

“Our population contains 200 able-bodied males ; we are obliged to furnish out of them 40 men for the forced labour ; they are sent to different parts of the province. We have to pay them ourselves ; we give them P. T.  $2\frac{1}{2}$  per day. This goes on all the year round ; even during the two months of high Nile they are used as watchers on the banks.”

(*Note.*—The apportionment of the forced labour seems to be exceedingly capricious and arbitrary ; it depends on the Mudir, and I suspect that wealthy townlands bribe him to favour them, while poor townlands have to make up the deficit ; in any case, the number imposed varies in an inverse ratio with the wealth of the village—the poorer they are, the larger the proportion of forced labour imposed upon them. Terraneh was the poorest

townland I visited, and there the number of men required to be furnished was highest and term of service longest. The Sheik stated it to be perennial and to constitute a very heavy tax upon them ; it is, in fact, equivalent to half the land tax.

The sheep taxes bear also exceptionally hard on the poorest townships, as it is an industry peculiarly suited to them.)

Soon after leaving Terraneh we arrived at the desert region before described. We were fortunate enough this time to get through it without a sand-storm, and we met with no further adventure worth recording on our way back to Cairo.



## CHAPTER XVII.

*Retrospect of Work done during my Tour of Inspection—Agricultural Statistics.*

THE distance from Cairo to Damietta is 166 miles, and that from Rosetta to Cairo 148. The provinces we visited were Baheireh, Mansurah, Dacalieh, Gharbieh, Menoufieh, Calioubieh.

During our tour in the Delta I examined forty-four witnesses and groups of witnesses in twenty-six different villages and townlands, both near the river and in the interior.

I annex a catalogue of the witnesses examined, and of the localities visited.

(In the following list, many of the names, though furnished for the private information of His Excellency the Earl of Dufferin, have for obvious reasons been suppressed in the published copies.)

### DELTA SERIES OF NATIVE STATEMENTS.

#### DAMIETTA BRANCH OF THE NILE.

NAME.	VILLAGE.	PROVINCE.
1. A fellah . . . . .	Bershoun . .	Menoufieh.
2. A Greek Christian . . . . .	Kafr Gunemié . .	"
3. A wealthy farmer . . . . .	Lebeshé . .	"
4. A Sheik . . . . .	Heit . .	"
5. A Notable . . . . .	Tanté (Calioubieh)	"
6. A fellah . . . . .	Kafr Gunemié . .	"
7. A land-owner . . . . .	" . .	"
8. A fellah . . . . .	Telwané . .	"
9. Ahmed Gherdli Bey, Governor of Benha	" . .	Calioubieh.

## DAMIETTA BRANCH OF THE NILE—(continued).

NAME.	VILLAGE.	PROVINCE.
10. Superintendent of the Prison, Benha . . . . .	Telwané . . . . .	Calioubieh.
11. Hassan Houma . . . . .	Mft-el-ez . . . . .	Dakahlieh.
12. Chafi Razeen . . . . .	" . . . . .	"
13. Mohamed Gadalla . . . . .	" . . . . .	"
14. Henen Rizgalla . . . . .	" . . . . .	"
15. Bichara Basili. . . . .	" . . . . .	"
16. A Sheik . . . . .	Tafanet-el-Azal . . . . .	Gharbieh.
17. A Notable . . . . .	" . . . . .	"
18. A Notable . . . . .	Talkha . . . . .	"
19. A tax collector . . . . .	" . . . . .	"
20. A village Elder . . . . .	" . . . . .	"
21. Sheik Schalabi Schaheen . . . . .	Mansurah . . . . .	Mansurah.
22. A Notable . . . . .	" . . . . .	Gharbieh.
23. The Governor of a town . . . . .	" . . . . .	"
24. A tax collector . . . . .	Mansurah . . . . .	Mansurah.
ROSETTA BRANCH.		
25. A farmer . . . . .	Shasheen . . . . .	Menoufieh.
26. An ex-Governor . . . . .	Zowyet-el-Noura . . . . .	"
27. A fellah . . . . .	Shebshir . . . . .	"
28. Governor of Atfeh . . . . .	Atfeh . . . . .	Baheireh.
29. Governor of Rosetta . . . . .	Rosetta . . . . .	"
30. Schinasi, manager of rice-mill . . . . .	" . . . . .	"
31. Cadi of the district . . . . .	Atfeh . . . . .	"
32. A banana grower . . . . .	Rosetta . . . . .	"
33. A labourer . . . . .	Shasheen . . . . .	Menoufieh.
34. Sheik of village in rice district . . . . .	El Egrebe . . . . .	Gharbieh.
35. Of a Chief of Police . . . . .	Rosetta . . . . .	Baheireh.
36. The Mahmoud of ——— . . . . .	" . . . . .	Gharbieh.
37. A Sheik . . . . .	" . . . . .	Baheireh.
38. A village Sheik . . . . .	Dessouk . . . . .	Gharbieh.
39. A fellah . . . . .	Khabrakeet . . . . .	Baheireh.
40. Demetrius Sakelarides . . . . .	Sa-el-Hagar . . . . .	"
41. The village Elders . . . . .	" . . . . .	"
42. Mohamed Bassiuni . . . . .	Neguilleh . . . . .	"
43. The Steward of Nubar Pasha . . . . .	El Zouaiarah . . . . .	Menoufieh.
44. A land-owner . . . . .	Terraneh . . . . .	Baheireh.

On many occasions all the elders and chiefs of the villages were present, and took part in the discussions and conversations, confirming each other's statements.

I may safely assert, therefore, that at the forty-four several inquiries held by me in the Delta, not less than 200 witnesses contributed to the evidence.

I satisfactorily established the fact that at the time of

my visit, a friendly feeling existed among the provincials of the Delta towards the English. The circumstance that most endangers this cordial disposition is the unintentional part we have taken in bringing back the usurers, and in constituting the shield beneath the protection of which they are now engaged in dispossessing the natives of their lands.

Many of my informants admitted that they had wished success to Arabi's rebellion, but the most of them gave the same reason, viz., that he had promised to cancel the village debts, and to banish the usurers.

In a very few instances of men of higher position, who were not affected by the village-debt question, they said that at first they disapproved of Arabi's movement, but that when he proclaimed a holy war they deemed it their duty as good Mussulmen to support him. In no instance did they mention nationalism as a motive, and when questioned on this point they stated that the plea of nationalism was limited to the Military party, and originated with them.

The causes of the late outbreak were essentially material and practical, and the further afield we go in search of sentimental causes the wider shall we stray from the mark. The people themselves explain it thus: The army became discontented because their arrears were unpaid, and because they felt the pinch of the new reign of economy; they traced the change to the Europeans, the Christians. Thence the anti-European and anti-Christian agitation and the nationality cry. All my informants agree that this last, especially, was limited to the Military party, and had its origin with them for the reasons indicated; it was not till the promise of cancelling the debts was promulgated

that the agitation took root in the Delta. Fanaticism was, no doubt, a factor in the movement, but it was invoked, not spontaneous, and it owed its power to deep-rooted grievances associated in their minds with the name of Christian.

The administration of justice is also a cause of much discontent. As between natives, it is no better than formerly; as between natives and Christians or foreigners, they regard it as much worse—more dilatory and complex than a suit in Chancery, and enormously costly, and they have no confidence in its impartiality.

In the Native Courts the administration of justice must be considered a figure of speech. The decisions of the Courts, I have been assured by all my informants without exception, are given to the highest bidder. No poor man has the least chance of redress if his opponent be richer than he, and approaches with a larger bribe in his hand.

In the villages, in petty cases, the Sheik often settles disputes; graver cases are reported to the Mahmoud (or Nazir), but the chances of the appellants depend much upon the complexion given to their report by the village authority. His favourable consideration is therefore sought by the usual method; if it is won, and if, besides, an adequate present be made to the Mahmoud, success is pretty certain. There is, however, appeal to the Mudir (the Governor of the province); this involves a still heavier bribe, and is final.

Where one of the parties to a dispute is a foreigner, or a native who, by getting himself appointed a Consular Agent, has acquired the privileges of a foreigner, the case is brought before the Mixed Tribunals. These Tribunals are exceedingly unpopular with the natives,

because they have occasioned the abolition of the old law or custom by virtue of which no fellah could be dispossessed of his land by a creditor without his own consent. They are regarded as a machine for transferring the land from the native peasant proprietors to foreign usurers, Greek, Syrian, Jewish, &c. As a matter of fact, a great deal of land has been so transferred through their means, and the process is now going on at an accelerated rate.

In many villages I saw handsome European houses surrounded by gardens, vineyards, and well-stocked farms, and invariably the natives told me that these properties belonged to money-lenders who had become possessed of them by degrees, adding field to field, through the instrumentality of the Mixed Tribunals. They had drawn the net of indebtedness around the fellah, and when it suited them to absorb his land they had foreclosed; and then, although the debt might fall far short of the value of the land, yet from the method of procedure, far away in the Courts in Cairo, a procedure utterly obscure to the poor ignorant peasant, the land had been knocked down to the foreign creditor, well versed and instructed in the ways of these Courts.

In one small village a Greek had 200 acres, and no other inhabitant had more than a few acres left; even the Sheik had only 12. The Greek's estate had been carved out of theirs, and the little community had been reduced by this means from prosperity to poverty.

The natives further complain that the Mixed Tribunals are very costly and dilatory; they have also no confidence whatever in their impartiality; they assert that they always lean towards the foreigner, or towards Egyptians who have acquired the privileges of foreigners.

This last contrivance leads to much abuse ; a case came under my notice where, during the course of a land dispute between two Egyptians, one of them had got himself appointed Consular Agent, and had thus been enabled to take the dispute before the Mixed Tribunals. The case was still undecided ; the Consular Agent had, however, taken possession summarily of the land in dispute, and had been cropping and using it ever since. The unprivileged native had, meanwhile, been compelled to mortgage his remaining property in order to pay counsel's fees, &c., and was well nigh ruined. He said to me naïvely, " Had it been before a Native Court I would have given the Mahmoud a buffalo, and the case would have been settled long ago ! "

Criminal cases are dealt with by the Mahmouds and Mudirs in despotic and arbitrary fashion ; the use of the " courbash " (hippopotamus-hide whip) and of the stick has increased since the rebellion, as also imprisonment in heavy chains. These punishments often fall upon the innocent ; for instance, if a fellah selected for military service runs away to the desert, his relatives are chained and thrown into prison, although in no way accessory to the offence.

Many of the most intelligent of my informants deprecated the custom of changing all the Mudirs and Mahmouds with the Government ; they assert that, as the appointment is temporary, these officials are indifferent whether they win the good-will of the people or not ; they only look to make the most of their opportunity, and to enrich themselves as fast as they can during their precarious tenure of office.

I have known Egypt for many years, and I fear I must come to the conclusion that venality and corruption

are so universal, so ingrained in the social fabric, from the highest to the lowest, that reform—at first, at all events—must come from without by the judicious infusion of European elements in the various branches of native administration.

The complaints made upon the subject of forced labour are that the apportionment is arbitrary and capricious, poor districts being required to furnish most, and wealthy districts fewest, labourers.

The richer class of land-owners are also entirely exempt. It is suggested that in lieu of the present system there should be a proportionate labour-rate upon all land alike, instead of throwing the burthen upon those least able to bear it.

Every land-owner up to 100 acres is liable to forced labour, but he may, if he likes, pay a substitute; some go and work themselves, and some send substitutes; those who possess no land are not liable.

Those who are liable get no pay whatever for their work; neither does the Government provide them with any food whatever. Their friends at home have to send them food from their villages—usually bread dried in the sun is their sole nourishment; it is sent in sacks, a couple of men from each village being deputed to convey it to the scene of operations. They have also to find their own tools and baskets; as a matter of fact their hands are often their only tools, and with these they load the baskets and excavate the soil; no shelter is provided for them at night, nor any covering. A certain number of overseers are appointed; these are armed with sticks, and superintend the work.

One complaint made universally was, that instead of allowing the men of each district to work in their own

districts, the practice was to send them to distant parts of the province, thus needlessly increasing the difficulty and cost of feeding them and ministering to their wants.

Common sense would seem to suggest employment of natives on the canals and embankments in their own neighbourhood in preference, because they would then have a direct personal interest in the work.

They complained that there was much bribery and corruption connected with the appointment of the forced labour, wealthy communities thus purchasing partial exemptions at the expense of those who were too poor to bribe high enough. They said that this was the real reason why the system of letting each district find the labour for its own public works was not adopted, because that would be an obstacle to these corrupt exemptions.

All admitted forced labour to be a necessary institution in Egypt, the maintenance of canals and embankments being of vital importance, but there had been great abuses, and even now they assured me that men were still forced to labour on the estates of the Government and of the wealthy Pashas; they said that now those so employed on the privileged lands received pay, previously they received none. This abuse, like many others, has been nominally abolished, but nevertheless continues, the Sheiks conniving; indeed, it is through their instrumentality alone that these abuses are possible.

As my estimate of the productiveness of the Delta has been called in question by some European officials, I think it necessary to add the following observations on the subject.



A very ordinary course of cropping for a 30-acre farm in Northern Egypt would be as follows: 10 acres the first year would be planted with dourra; that would be succeeded by green crops, and that would be succeeded by cotton; another 10 acres would be planted half with beans and half with green crops; the third ten acres would be planted with wheat, and then either left fallow or planted with green crops. The following year the 10 acres which had been under dourra, green crops, and cotton, would be planted with beans and green crops; the third year it would be planted with wheat. But this order is by no means universal, I constantly saw wheat following immediately upon cotton; it is also often the practice to follow wheat in the same season with dourra and finally with green crops. After my tour was completed I had access to some official documents, and I was glad to see that the statements made to me by the peasants were in the main confirmed.

According to official returns the average produce of cotton is 5 kantars to the acre, the average produce of wheat is 5 ardebs, the average value of the cotton is P.T. 320 per kantar; that would be about £15 12s. 6d. per acre. With a perfect system of irrigation the average might be raised to 6 kantars, which would be worth about £19 10s. per acre. There are other items to be added to the gross produce; for instance there is the cotton seed, and the straw both of that and of the other crops. It is very difficult to get at the expenses in the case of peasant proprietors; it is difficult to gauge the value of their own labour on their own farms. The official returns are likely to be below the mark, because it is to the interest of the peasants who cultivate their own farms, and of the agents who

manage great estates, to minimise the profit and to magnify the expenses. The peasants are extremely suspicious, and are afraid that if they admitted the profits to be great, additional taxes would be put upon them; but even taking official returns as tolerably correct, and that one year with another there is a clear profit of £5 10s. per acre, it is evident that the position of an Egyptian farmer is decidedly superior to that of one in our own country. One of our farmers would be lucky indeed if he cleared £5 10s. per acre after deducting all expenses, and it must be remembered that the Egyptian farmer's taxes are his rent, whereas our farmers have to pay both rent and taxes.

There is one point upon which the official statements are entirely at variance with my own observations and the statements made to me by the peasants themselves. The official returns only admit three crops within one season in one out of three years, for the other two years they assign beans as the only crop for one and wheat as the only crop for the other, whereas the peasants invariably told me that they never got less than two crops in the same year off the same land, and very generally three, unless want of irrigation interfered to prevent it. That is the point upon which the result of my own inquiries and observations, most minutely carried out in every province of the Delta, is at variance with other official reports; of course if I am right, the average net earning might be put much higher. However for all practical purposes, the official limit answers as well as mine, for it shows that there is an ample margin, and that the population of the Delta are lightly taxed as compared with the people of this country. The case of Upper Egypt is totally different; there, I have no hesi-

tation in saying that they are very much overtaxed, as I shall hereafter explain; and even with regard to the Delta there can be no doubt that many of the taxes are vexatious and impolitic, and that it would be for the interest of the farmers to abolish all the petty taxes that affect their class, and to make up the loss to the revenue by an increase of the land tax. Double advantage would arise from this change: they would be emancipated from the impediments that now hang like a log on the neck of industry, and at the same time the vast expense of the army of tax-collectors necessary to gather in all the vexatious imposts that I have referred to would be saved, as the increased land tax would be collected by the present staff of land tax-gatherers, while the other class of collectors would be abolished.

It has been asserted that the productiveness of the soil in Egypt is diminishing, but my acquaintance with Egypt extends over nearly thirty years, and I cannot detect any falling-off in its fertility. It always has varied from year to year in proportion to the abundance of the inundation. No complaint of diminished average production was made to run throughout my enquiries.

We remained at Cairo for some days making preparations for our tour of inspection in the Southern provinces of Middle and Upper Egypt. We had sent on a Nile boat called the *Eva*, to Siout, in order to save time, and it was in waiting for us there. We now took leave of the *Benisouef*, for in the upper river there are postal steamers which had orders to tow us whenever we required them to do so.

## CHAPTER XVIII.

Interesting Discoveries made by the Author—Walls of an Alabaster Temple—Flint Implements—Ancient Pottery—Description of the Pyramid of Ounas—The interior—The Inscriptions—Alabaster Chambers—Marble Sarcophagus—Interesting Wall Decorations.

I MAY as well take this opportunity of describing an interesting discovery which, after my return, I made at a ruined Pyramid in an isolated situation between Gbizeh and Aboosir. While exploring the mounds by which it is surrounded, my attention was drawn to a great alabaster basin among the débris at the base, and on examination I found that there were no less than nine similar basins. They measured each 15 feet in circumference, and were supported at their outer edge by 24 little pilasters, each of which was cupped at the top. They reminded me of the curious compound daisy called Hen-and-chickens. I cleared them down to the bottom of the pedestals in search of inscriptions, but found them to be perfectly plain, and to have stood upon a limestone floor, now broken up, though portions of it remain. I concluded that these reservoirs must have formed part of the furniture of a temple. I therefore applied to Emil Brugsch Bey for leave to excavate in search of it, and a day or two later I returned with twenty men, and set them to work to dig vigorously. At a depth of 16 feet below the surface, and at a distance of about 50 yards behind the basins, and close to the Pyramid, we came upon the walls of the

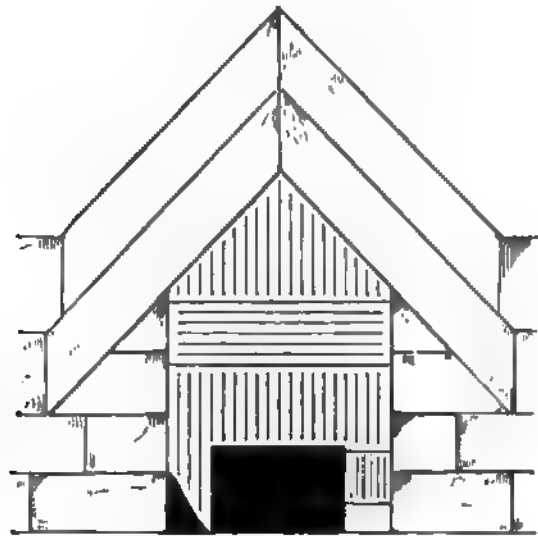




temple I expected to find. They also were of alabaster, in enormous blocks and quite uninjured. I laid bare the floor, which I found to be of limestone. Resting upon it I found a beautifully made flint implement, quite perfect, about 6 inches long, with fluted sides and sharply pointed end; it was also double-edged, sharp on both sides, and was probably used in slaying animals for sacrifice. It is an exceedingly curious fact that flint implements, *reproducing every detail and in all respects resembling it*, have been found in Mexico. The material only is different, being of obsidian instead of flint—similar flint instruments have been found in Donegal in Ireland, also in Greece. Near it I picked up a second flint implement, broken; it was formed in the shape of a knife-blade and handle all in one. There was also a quantity of broken pottery. One vase was quite perfect; hand-made, and of the rudest construction.

A day or two afterwards I visited one of the newly-opened Pyramids; it had been built by King Ounas, of the fifth dynasty, and his ovals were to be seen on the walls of the ante-chamber. The exterior of the Pyramid was so decayed that it resembled a natural mound of gravel more than anything else; the stones have mouldered away, and lost all shape. The entrance was deep down below the surface; it consisted of a tunnel descending at a moderate angle for a distance of 75 paces, terminating in a kind of ante-room, to the left of which was a chamber without inscriptions. To the right there was a vestibule leading to the main hall; the walls of this were covered with hieroglyphics. The hall itself was 25 feet long by 11 broad; the side-walls were about 10 feet high. The roof consisted of five enormous stones on either side, meeting in the centre at

a steep angle. These stones were of a beautiful pale cream colour, covered with blue stars; the side walls were engraved with columns of hieroglyphics deeply cut and painted blue. At the extremity of the hall, and for one third of its length, the walls and roof consisted of alabaster without inscriptions, but engraved in patterns, painted of different colours—blue, red, yellow, white, and



Section of the gable end of alabaster chamber of the Pyramid of Ounas, showing position of sarcophagus.

*part* black. (See Plate XXVIII.) Under the alabaster alcove stood a black marble sarcophagus, the lid of which lay on the ground. When the tomb was first entered a shrivelled body without bandages was found in the sarcophagus, supposed to be the remains of Ounas himself—a very venerable relic of humanity indeed, when it is remembered that he lived long before the time of Abraham. The roof-stones already described rested on the outer edge of the blocks which



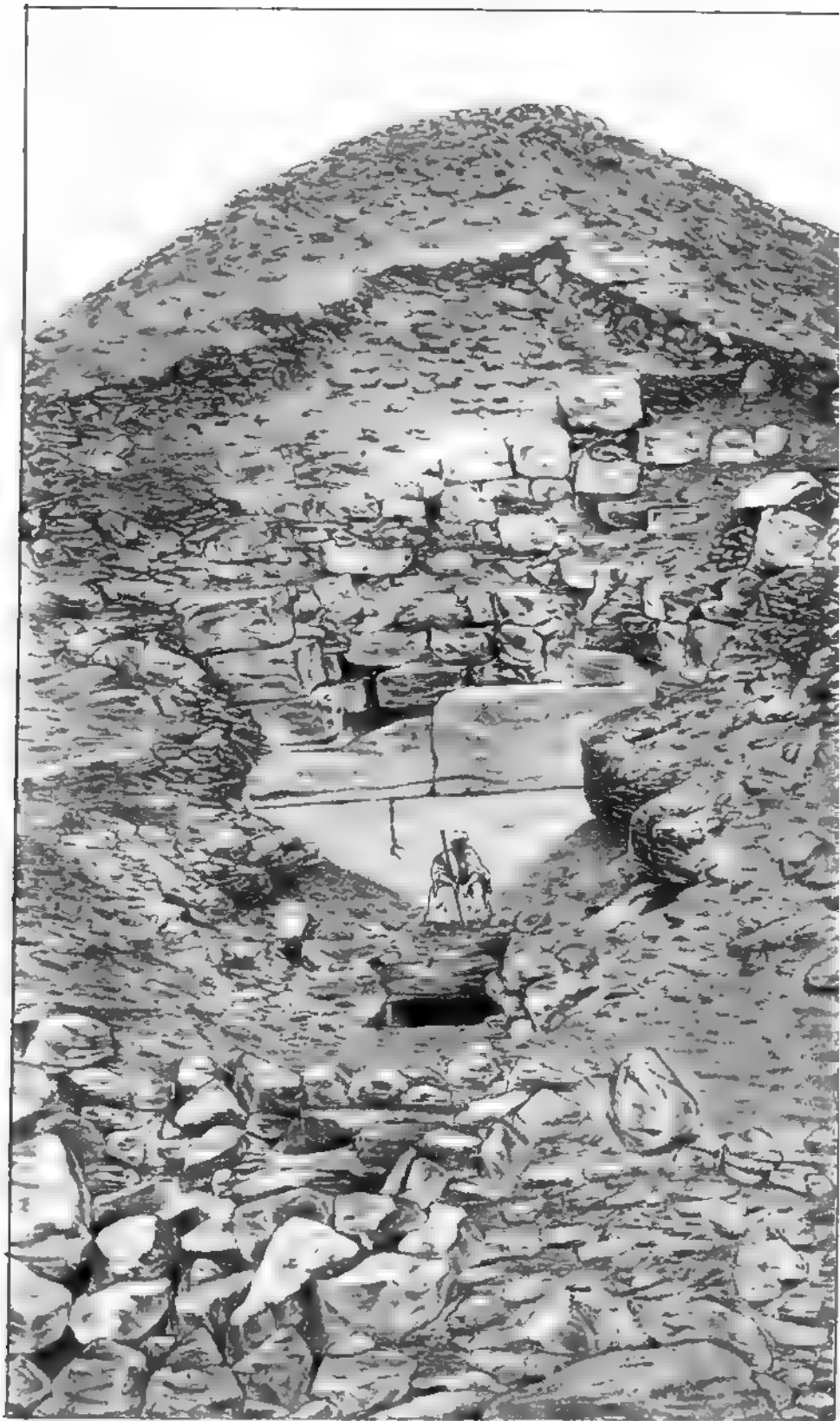


PLATE LXVII.

PYRAMID OF OUNAS



formed the side-walls, leaving a ledge. On this ledge was found an earthenware saucer, still containing the remains of the blue paint that had been used to colour the hieroglyphics. With it was a leaden plummet, with a hole for the line, which however had long since mouldered to dust. This plummet proved to be exactly the width of the columns of hieroglyphics, and had evidently been used to gauge them. The name of the artist was engraved in hieroglyphics upon this plummet.\* I have said that the exterior of the Pyramid was in a state of entire decay, but the interior presented a startling contrast to it. The stones looked so new, and the colours so bright and fresh, that one would have supposed it had only been finished yesterday. The tunnel which I have already mentioned was lined with cream-coloured limestone, alternating with piers of pink granite: the latter were remains of the portcullises, which had been cut through in order to effect an entrance. The chisel marks on the stones still had that mealy appearance which newly-cut stone presents.

While in the great hall we burned a Bengal light, and the effect was picturesque and weird to the last degree, all the features of the extraordinary scene coming out very vividly, including the bronze features and picturesque robes of our Arab guides who held the light. The inscriptions which I have spoken of consisted of addresses to various deities, and of chapters from a more ancient Ritual of the Dead than that with which the Tombs of the Kings have hitherto made us acquainted. Until lately it has been supposed that the religious ideas which existed later, and which are illustrated in such abundance

\* It was in this Pyramid that these relics were found, not in that of Pepi, as erroneously stated in the "Funeral Tent of an Egyptian Queen."

in the tombs of the nineteenth and following dynasties, had no existence in the fourth and fifth, because the tombs of that early period are covered with scenes from the daily life of the Egyptians, and contain scarcely any reference to their mythology. The Pyramids of Ounas, however, and of Pepi, Merira, and Merenra, recently opened, prove conclusively that they had just as complicated a religious machinery in those early days as they had later on, and the names of the deities are the same.

h426 I made drawings of the designs stencilled on the polished surface of the alabaster. A selection of them will be found in Plate XXVIII., inscription No. 12. They have an interest as illustrating the decorative taste of a very remote period in the history of the human race. They are not without artistic merit, and combine elegance with simplicity. The effect is much heightened by the colours, which are skilfully combined and harmonized. The axe-head pattern was suggested to the ancient artists by certain flint implements without handles then employed. One of these may be seen in actual use in Plate XXXVIII. A kitchen assistant may be observed there using it to carve a goose. He holds the weapon in his fist.

h412 The same architectural ornament occurs on many a sarcophagus of the 4th, 5th, and 6th dynasties, for they were designed to represent houses. Mock windows, mock doors, and other such devices being sculptured on the surface to keep up the idea of the deceased being in his home.

## CHAPTER XIX.

The Theban Discoveries—Removal of the Royal Mummies—Honour to the Dead—  
Design of the Funeral Tent of Queen Is-em-Kheb : Date of its Manufacture—  
The Signet Ring—Serpent Worship—Dynasty of Her Hor—The Egyptian  
Scarabæus.

I HAD intended issuing a second edition of a book I published last year, on the remarkable funeral canopy discovered at Deir-el-Bahari, near Thebes, but I have thought it better to include the most interesting portions of it in the present volume. To those who have not read my previous account, I hope it may prove welcome, while those who have, will find some important additions to the information on Egyptian religious ideas as connected with their funeral rites, more especially a popular outline of the nature of their Ritual of the Dead, &c.

I shall begin by reminding my readers of the circumstances under which the canopy of Queen Is-em-Kheb was discovered.

I was much struck in 1877, and again in 1879, by the profusion of articles of the 18th dynasty which were offered me for sale by the Arabs and others, and I then felt certain that they were drawing their supplies from some important reservoir known only to themselves.

These indications did not long escape the notice of the zealous and able curator of the Boulak Museum; and he endeavoured for many months in vain to get at the truth, but the Arabs were too wary, and would pro-

bably have preserved their profitable secret to this day, had not the three brothers who were the depositaries of it quarrelled, and one of them turned king's evidence and betrayed their hiding-place, which proved to be an extensive subterranean vault excavated in the limestone cliffs adjoining the temple of Deir-el-Bahari. Emil Brugsch Bey told me that nothing in all his life had ever startled him so much or produced so deep an impression upon his mind as the spectacle that met his view on entering this strange mausoleum. He found himself in a long gallery excavated in the rock, the floor of which was crowded with mummy cases and hundreds of other articles to such an extent that it was difficult to make his way amongst them. The lurid light of torches and candles held by the guides fell upon the gilded masks, rendered lifelike by enamel eyes and surmounted by the well-known Royal Asps, which proclaimed them to contain the remains of members of the royal family of the Pharaohs; but what was his amazement on stooping down and reading the inscriptions to find gathered together there all their most famous heroes of the 17th, 18th, and 19th dynasties: Ra Sekanen, contemporary of Joseph; Amosis, Amunoph, Thothmes, Rameses, &c.

He felt like a man in a dream, and thought he must be under the influence of some spell or the victim of some temporary mental aberration.

While at Thebes I visited the locality of this startling discovery, where the actual bodies of the contemporaries of the Biblical patriarchs had so long rested undisturbed. The entrance is to the left, and above the terrace temple built by the sovereigns of the eighteenth dynasty as a receptacle for deceased princes of their

race ; access is obtained to it by a narrow shaft, at the bottom of which corridors branch off right and left. The walls of these are rough and without sculpture or painting ; there is, however, an inscription stating it to be the burial place of the Her Hor dynasty. I found quantities of turquoise blue beads amongst the rubbish at the mouth of the pit, remnants probably of the bead network with which mummies were often covered.

The contents of these corridors, which consisted of about forty royal mummies of kings, queens, princes, and princesses of the 17th, 18th, 19th, and 20th dynasties, together with about 6000 articles belonging to their sepulchral furniture and equipment, were found in the utmost confusion, scattered about at random, probably by the Arabs. Amongst the miscellaneous articles were statuettes, boxes and caskets, vases, goblets, articles of wearing apparel, papyri, &c., &c.

I am indebted to Emil Brugsch Bey for the following particulars of the removal, from their Theban resting place, of the royal mummies of ancient Egypt's greatest kings. They were got out one by one through the shaft I have already described, and conveyed across the Nile to Luxor ; they were here placed on board a steamer. When this vessel with its precious freight started for Cairo, the following interesting incident occurred. Numbers of the native women appeared on both banks of the Nile, with their hair thrown loose about their shoulders, and as the boat descended the stream they hurried along the banks wailing and lamenting after the manner of Eastern mourners. The men too joined them, firing matchlocks, as the custom is at Arab funeral processions. Thus did these poor people, descendants of the old imperial race,

render the last honours to their ancient native heroes on the occasion of the final departure of their mortal remains from the capital of their former empire, from the city that had been their glory and their pride. Surely a more touching tribute was never paid them even at the height of their power than this spontaneous outburst of feeling from the hearts of the people. Centuries of direst oppression have rendered the peasantry so suspicious and reserved that it is impossible to ascertain what is passing in their minds, but it may be that they still cherish traditions of that splendid past when monarchs of their own race led them on to victory, and made their country through long ages mistress of the East. At all events the fact that they were deeply affected by the final removal for ever of their most famous sovereigns from the sepulchre that had sheltered them so long and so well seems worth recording. It is remarkable that although these royal mummies were in the power of the Arabs for the last five or six years, and although there must have been a great temptation to break them up in hope of finding ornaments of gold, papyrus, and other relics as valuable as gold, yet they remained intact; they took many other articles, but respected the mummies themselves. They recognized them as royal by the golden asps on their foreheads. The brothers Abdera-soul, with whom the secret lay, were in my service as guides in 1878-9, and I know them to be well enough acquainted with Egyptology for that. They are very intelligent men. The mummies had remained perfectly intact. Their coffins had not suffered violation, so that the flowers with which they had been garlanded were found undisturbed. Their majesties



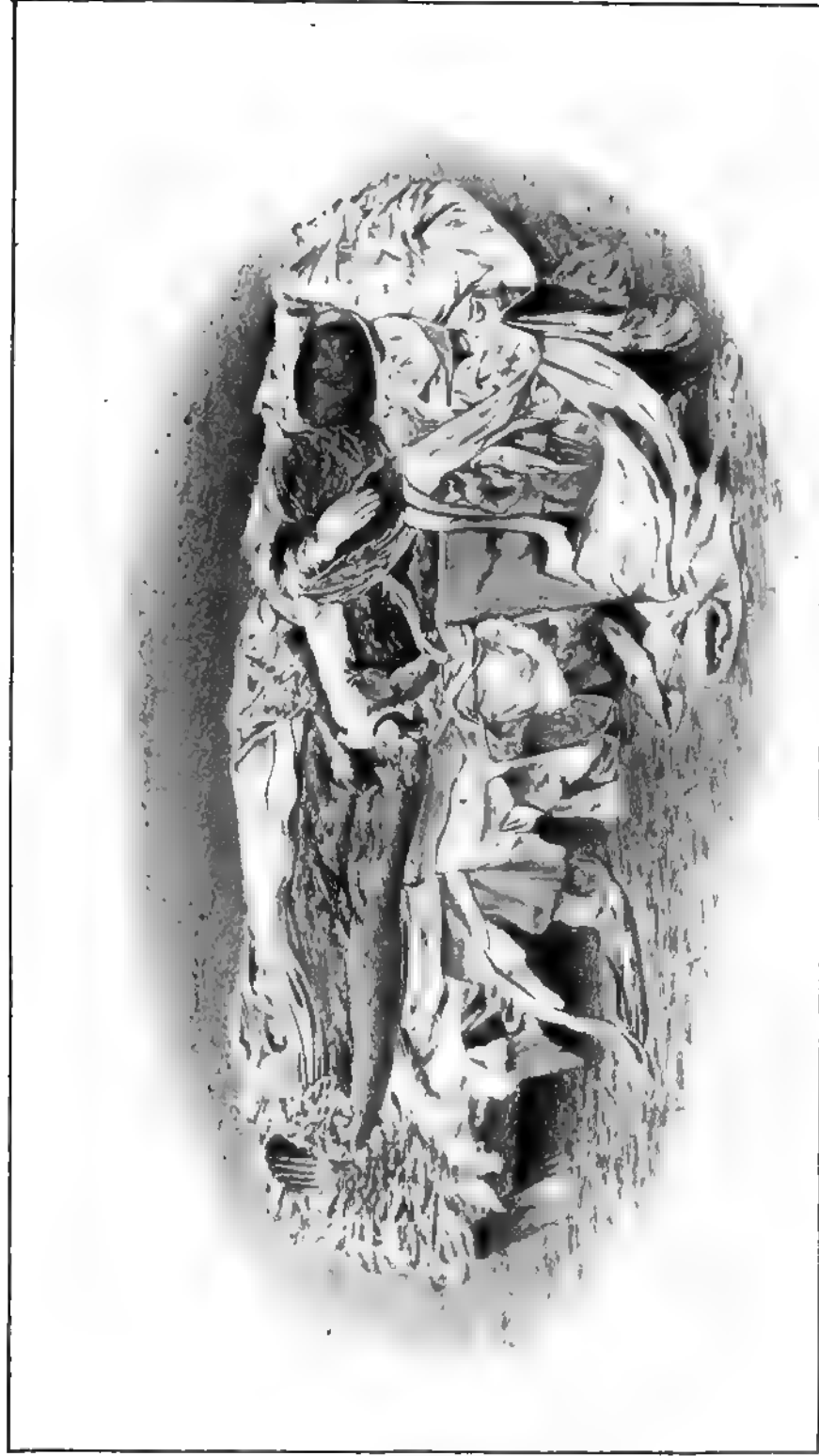


PLATE LXIX

THE DUST OF THOTMES III.



did not fare so well on their arrival at Cairo. It was desirable in the interests of science to ascertain whether the mummy bearing the monogram of Thothmes III. was really the remains of that monarch. It was therefore unrolled. The inscriptions on the bandages established beyond all doubt the fact that it was indeed that most distinguished of the kings of the brilliant eighteenth dynasty, and once more, after an interval of thirty-six centuries, human eyes gazed on the features of the man who had conquered Syria and Cyprus and Ethiopia, and had raised Egypt to the highest pinnacle of her power, so that it was said that in his reign she placed her frontiers where she pleased. The spectacle was of brief duration; the remains proved to be in so fragile a state that there was only time to take a hasty photograph, and then the features crumbled to pieces and vanished like an apparition, and so passed away from human view for ever. The director told me that he felt such remorse at the result that he refused to allow the unrolling of Rameses the Great, for fear of a similar catastrophe. Thothmes III. was the man who overran Palestine with his armies 200 years before the birth of Moses, and has left us a diary of his adventures, for, like Cæsar, he was author as well as soldier.

Prominent among the sepulchral paraphernalia found with the royal mummies at Deir-el-Bahari is the splendid canopy which forms the subject of the present chapter. It is a perfectly unique example of ancient Egyptian tapestry, and constituted the funeral tent of Queen Is-em-Kheb, of which I offer to the public the only drawing yet taken.\* It is on the scale of one sixth

\* See Plate I. in pocket of cover.

of the actual size. The tent itself may be described as a mosaic of leather work, consisting of thousands of pieces of gazelle hide, stitched together with thread of colours to match. The edges are neatly bound with a pink cord of twisted leather, sewn on with stout pink thread; each colour is a separate piece, no one section bearing two colours; thus each square of the chess-board-patterned foot-stool upon which the gazelles are kneeling is a distinct morsel stitched to its neighbours. The whole work is in fact a mosaic. The colours consist of bright pink, deep golden yellow, pale primrose, bluish green, and pale blue. They are wonderfully well preserved, considering that they were laid on not long after the Trojan war, and are contemporary with Solomon! Much of the surface still retains a gloss similar to that of a kid glove; the pink, yellow, and green have not faded at all, though dulled to some extent by the dust of ages. I have had the first-named colour analysed. Charles H. Piesse, of Savoy House, Strand, public analyst, etc., reports it to consist of red hæmatite mixed with lime. The colouring matter is therefore peroxide of iron modified by lime; the blue being of vegetable origin has been decomposed. I have thought best to restore it in the illustration, which is coloured with scrupulous care from the original; and, in order to make sure of accuracy in the matter, the Museum authorities gave me some broken fragments of each tint, which have been matched exactly in the chromo-lithograph. The leather of which the tent is made is tanned with the bark of the acacia tree; it was one of the few timber trees which the Egyptians possessed. I am glad to take this opportunity of acknowledging the very great courtesy, and I may say

generosity, with which Monsieur Maspero, the gifted conservator of the Egyptian antiquities, and the president of the Museum, placed every facility at my disposal for reproducing this unique specimen of Egyptian Art-needlework. It is so fragile from age that it requires the greatest care in handling, some parts of it breaking almost at a touch. For this reason it is not yet exhibited to the general public. It was therefore only as a very great favour that it was spread out for me on the floor of one of the private rooms. Here I was allowed to spend an entire day in making measurements and sketching the details to scale.

The canopy consists of a great central panel, 9 feet long and 6 feet wide, divided into two equal sections. One is covered with pink and yellow rosettes on a blue ground; the other displays six vultures, each surmounted by a hieroglyphic text, and divided from its neighbours by a row of pink rosettes on a yellow ground. At either side is a flap divided from the central section by four bands of colours—blue, red, yellow, and green; and further ornamented with a border of spearhead pattern. Below this comes a row of panels containing various emblematical devices; and below that again is a chessboard pattern of pink and green squares, bordered at bottom with a broad belt of pink. At both ends are flaps, presenting the same arrangement of chequers when spread out flat. The entire fabric measures twenty-two feet, six inches, in length, and nineteen feet, six inches, in width, and covers a space of two hundred and one square feet of leather.

It will be admitted that the design reflects credit on the taste of the Egyptians; the general effect

is handsome and artistic, and the contrast of colours harmonious, although they have resorted to juxtapositions of tones which we should never have ventured on, *e.g.*, yellow on yellow. It illustrates their lavish expenditure on funeral ceremonies, that this pall, which was only to do duty for one day, should represent such an enormous amount of costly work.

We are able to fix the date of this piece of tapestry pretty exactly. The queen for whom it was made was mother-in-law to the Shishak who besieged and took Jerusalem three or four years after the death of Solomon, B.C. 980. She appears to have died young; we may therefore allow about 20 years between the two events, which would place it about a century later than the Trojan war. Since it was executed, since the busy fingers of the Egyptian damsels stitched together those multitudinous morsels of gazelle leather, the kingdoms of Israel and Judah have come and gone, the Greek Empire has come and gone; its eventful history has had its first rise, its memorable development, and its extinction. The Roman Empire has come and gone, the Macedonian, the Assyrian, the Persian Empires have come and gone, and many of the mediæval kingdoms and dynasties have come and gone, and all the time it has lain undisturbed in the silent vault, amid the wild gorges of the Lybian hills, alongside its mistress and her gazelle; and now, after all those centuries, it has come forth nearly in its pristine brightness of hue, to tell its story, to be the wonder and admiration of 19th century tourists, and to show us what manner of tapestry was in fashion 29 centuries ago. Its purpose was to serve as a canopy to cover the shrine of the funeral boat on its way to its final destination. I annex a drawing of

one of these from the tomb of Queen Taiti. Even when the water had not to be crossed, the coffin was placed upon a boat and drawn to its destination on a sledge by a team of oxen (see Plate II.).


As the dynasty to which Queen Is-em-Kheb belonged were high priests of Amen, whose chief temple was at Karnac, it is probable that their palace was also on the eastern side of the Nile, and that therefore the procession would have to cross the river to reach the Royal Mausoleum at Deir-el-Bahari. This crossing must have been a most gorgeous and impressive spectacle: the long train of brightly painted barges, carrying the mourners, colleges of priests, state functionaries—the officers of the army, the royal scribes, the members of the royal family, &c., the whole having for its centre the superb bark with its cabin decked with this sumptuous pall, guarded at either end by ministering priests, wearing their panther-skin robes, and flanked on both sides by bands of mourning women.



I shall now proceed to explain the details of the design of Is-em-Kheb's funeral canopy.

In the first panel on the right-hand side will be observed the cartouch of her grandfather King Pinotem. The oval border in which the name is enclosed represents, in fact, the king's signet-ring, elongated for the convenience of inscribing his name therein. The earliest Pharaoh of whom we have any record made use of the signet-ring. The Step Pyramid at Sakkara is believed to have been built by a king of the first dynasty. In the entrance to it was found an inscription giving the royal titles, which ran as follows:—  
“Sovereign of Upper and Lower Egypt, Lord of the

Sacred Vulture, Lord of the Royal Asp, Lord of the Ring of Pure Gold—the signet-ring.” It would seem that the signet-ring bore the king’s name, and was used as his seal and affixed to official documents.

In one of the tombs at Beni Hassan is a fresco of some foreign visitors to Egypt presenting a letter of recommendation from the king to the governor of the district where they have arrived. This document is sealed at the end with the king’s cartouch, that is, the impression of his signet-ring. (See Plate III.)

In many sarcophagi, Isis and Nephthys are represented impressing a seal upon them, while underneath is inscribed the hieroglyphic NEM, , meaning “again;” the signification conveyed by the seal is thus explained to be renewing or repetition, as of course the seal is specially made to produce impressions again and again, *ad infinitum*. So in the case of the mummy it was a sign and promise of renewed life—the God who stamped life upon it once would stamp life upon it anew. In the monuments, in the tombs, and especially in mummy cases, may often be found the figure of a hawk with a human head floating over the mummy, and holding a signet-ring in each of its claws. Besides the sealing of documents, the Egyptians made use of the seal for securing their tombs; they also closed their vases sometimes with a plug covered with clay or plaster on which the seal was stamped. Many papyri have been found with the impression of the signet-ring attached.

Right and left of the Royal Ovals will be observed as supporters two serpents,   hooded asps. The veneration in which these creatures were held, is traceable to the remotest antiquity. I have already



referred to the inscription in the Step Pyramid, where the king has the title of Master of the Asp. Amongst the links which connect the whole human race together, few are more curious than the serpent worship. It is found in China, in Siam, in Mexico ; it is found even in the legends of Scandinavia and of Great Britain and Germany. In the latter countries, the serpent has dwindled to paltry and insignificant proportions, and the importance attached to it must be derived from more southern regions. In the forests of Siam are found ruins of temples of unknown antiquity. In these occur colossal figures, sculptured in stone, of processions of men bearing long serpents. These sculptures so exactly resemble bas-reliefs in the Tombs of the Kings at Thebes, that they might be supposed to have been copied from them. In one of the Egyptian legends, the sun, on his way back to the East through the infernal regions, is being attacked by a serpent, who strives to destroy him. The parallelism between this and the Chinese legend of the serpent swallowing the sun, is too remarkable to pass unnoticed. Buddhists also have their five-headed Python.

The name contained in the oval which occurs in the first panel and in every alternate panel of the right-hand side of the tent is *Pinotem mer Amen*, which means, "The delight of Amen, beloved of him." This king was grandfather of our heroine ; he was a member of the dynasty of Her Hor, the founder of that race of priest kings who wrested their power from the hands of the degenerate descendants of Rameses, drove them into exile, and usurped their throne. It is curious that the greatest of the legitimate sovereigns of Egypt should have

owed the preservation of their mortal remains to these usurpers, but so it was. Pinotem finding that the tombs of their most famous heroes were being plundered and robbed, issued a commission to visit and report upon their condition, and ultimately conveyed their remains to the hiding-place which they have continued to occupy undisturbed until the autumn of 1882, when, as is now well known, they were discovered by M. Emil Brugsch, and conveyed to the Museum at Boulak.

Is-em-Kheb was the daughter of the high priest Masahirta, son of Pinotem, the chief priest and the reigning king (Men-Kheper-Ra) being half-brothers; she married the latter, her step-uncle, a degree of consanguinity which did not prevent matrimonial alliance according to Egyptian custom. The king was younger brother of the chief priest, and the fact that he should have succeeded to the throne rather than his senior brother is to be accounted for by his mother being a princess of the house of Rameses, and therefore of royal descent; besides that, he had during his father's life-time succeeded in putting down a very serious insurrection at Thebes, which had been promoted on behalf of the banished Rameses family, for the Thebans still cherished the name of Rameses, as the French long did the name of Napoleon. They associated with it the recollection of the most brilliant and glorious periods of their history, and they resented the expulsion of the family; the more so as the usurpers had achieved no success to compensate for their defective claims; on the contrary the limits of the empire had shrunk, and their power and authority had steadily decayed. It was probably a matter of policy with Pinotem to gratify the patriotic instincts of the people by the steps he took for the

preservation of the mummies of Rasekanen, Amosis, Thothmes, Hatesou, Amunoph, Rameses, and the other heroes of Egyptian antiquity. The removal of their remains to Deir-el-Bahari was, no doubt, carried out with splendid pageantry and great state ceremonial.

I may observe here that Her Hor means, the most high Horus,—a sufficiently arrogant name for these pontiffs to assume.

The next panel is occupied by the Scarab, the creature which figures so prominently in all Egyptian monuments, and is so constantly found amongst the linen bandages of Egyptian mummies. The original of it is a beetle which abounds in Southern Egypt. The male and female differ considerably. The male is furnished with horns, and his duty is to carry balls of wet Nile mud on his head to his mate to deposit her eggs in. I annex a drawing of one of them, which I myself caught in the act of carrying the ball of clay—nest or nidus. Besides the horns which I have already mentioned, there are three other projections from his shoulders, forming so many prongs, to hold his burthen safely during his flight from the river inland. It is a very interesting example of special means designed for a special end, which cannot be accounted for under Darwin's theory of spontaneous development, but must be admitted to be, at all events, one example of intelligent design. The female has no horns, and could not by any possibility carry the pellet which is necessary for the hatching of her eggs. The beetle figured in Plate V. is the *Scarabæus copris Isidis* (of Isis); the female is hornless, and might pass for the original of those models so familiar to Egyptologists. The varieties of scarab are however very numerous, and there is plenty of scope

for dispute as to which is the true *Scarab sacer*, but the habits of all are similar, and whether my specimen be the right one or not, it serves to illustrate the history of the ancient Egyptian scarab allegory. Examples of the horned male are rare amongst Egyptian relics, but they are not unknown; two exist in the British Museum, executed in bronze. The Egyptians,—having observed these beetles industriously rolling before them the globe of clay, having the form of their emblem of the sun, and seeing them also during flight decorated with the disk, their emblem of divinity,—came to the conclusion that they were engaged in worshipping the sun, which explains the veneration with which these creatures were regarded. One fact which explains some of the mystic significance attached to the Scarab, is the transformation that takes place. The egg deposited in the mud pellet becomes a worm; and that again is transformed into a chrysalis, a mummy as it were; and this mummy breaks forth into life again, as a perfected scarabæus, endowed with powers of a far higher order than before, able to wing its way through the air and to renew its species. For these reasons he was adopted as the emblem of life out of death; and it was their practice to place a model of the Scarab, sometimes of stone, sometimes of porcelain, sometimes of some precious jewel, in the bosom of the mummy, in the place out of which the heart had been extracted in the process of embalming. Frequently, on the reverse of the model, a prayer is found inscribed. The substance of the prayer is always to the effect that, in the day of resurrection, the mummy's heart may be restored to him with his life. When there is no hieroglyphic inscription there is some mystic device, emblems of eternity, or of

resurrection, transformation, or some similar idea. Amongst other evidences that the Etruscans were of Egyptian origin, is the fact that in their tombs many Scarabs have been found.

As a hieroglyph, the phonetic value of the Scarab is *kheper* (German *Kafer*, a beetle), and its signification is, to come into existence, to be developed, to be manifested, always involving the idea of *Being* or existing. It came to be so used from having been already regarded as a representative of the principle of life. It is evident, therefore, that the religious or mystic idea attached to it is of older date than the art of hieroglyphic writing.

Scarabs were employed for the centre ornament of rings, being mounted on a swivel, and engraved on the under side with the name of the owner. They were also worn in rows, forming a portion of the necklaces which figure as an indispensable part of the dress both of men and women of all ranks in Egyptian paintings.

In the panels we are considering the scarab is represented flying with the ball upon his head, just as my specimen was doing when killed. There are several varieties of scarab, and naturalists differ as to which was the sacred beetle of the Egyptians.

## CHAPTER XX.

The long Inscription—Khonsou—The Egyptian love of Allegory explained—Horus—Anubis—Ma, Sefek, and Hecate—Disembodied Spirits—The Treasury of the Dead—Genealogy of Is-em-Kheb—Chronology.

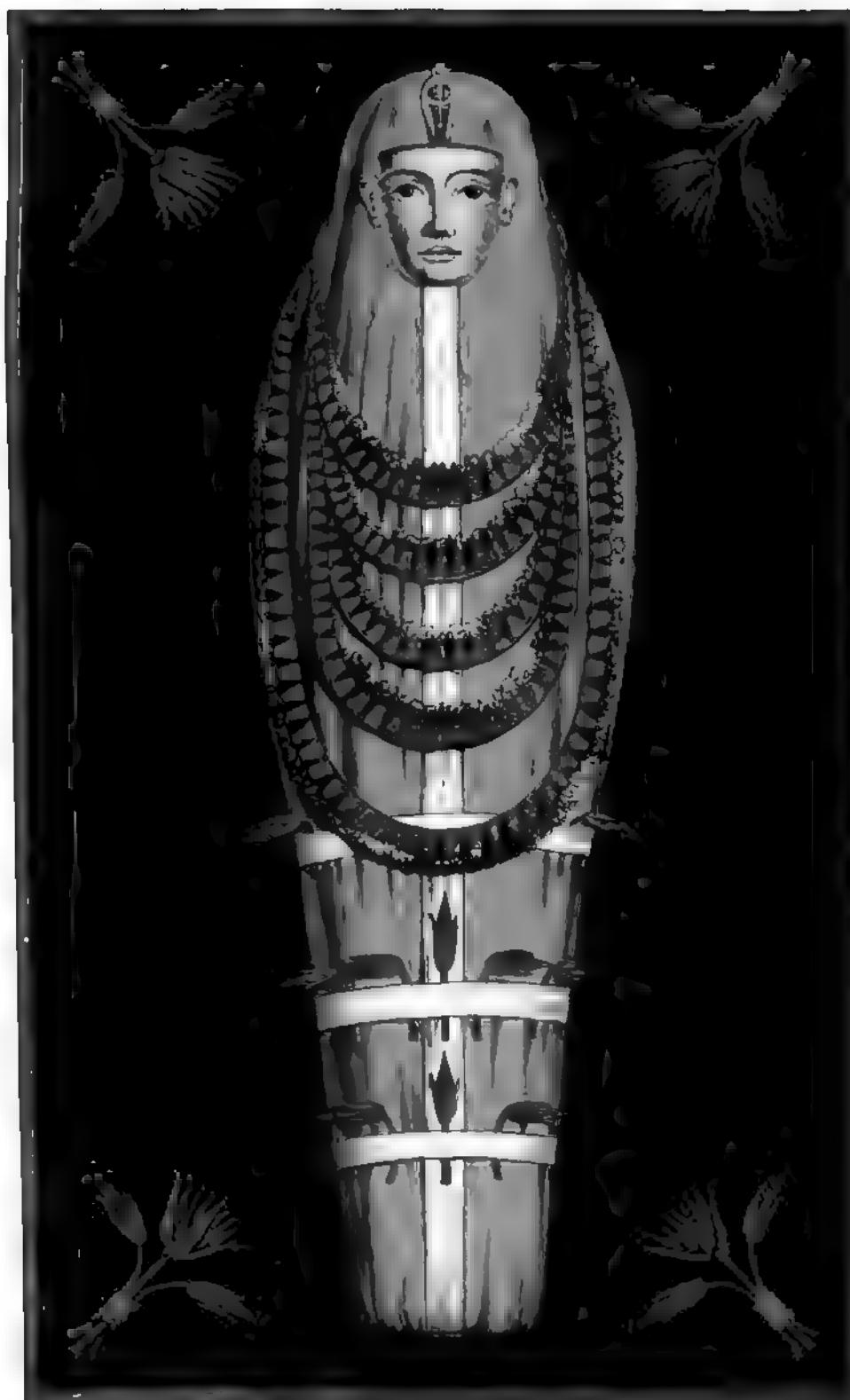
HAVING explained the panels on the right-hand side of the canopy, I proceed to give a translation of the long inscription which appears above them.

The text presents several difficulties, chiefly owing to doubts as to the characters intended, in some places where the fabric on which they are worked has decayed or been injured. There are also various inherent difficulties. I have to acknowledge the kind and valuable assistance I received from Dr. Birch, in the restoration of the doubtful characters, and the solution of perplexing passages.

The first two hieroglyphics spell Him es ; they are followed by a seated figure. This determinative indicates the characters to signify "sitting ;" but for that they might have been taken for " Lady Consort."

The personage referred to is only named at the opposite extremity of the inscription, at the very end ; it was the invariable custom of the Egyptians to reserve the name for the last, when we should have placed it first.

It goes on to proclaim that she is now deified, that she is in her appropriate place, "enthroned amongst the gods of the south." This species of canonization was practised also by the Romans. All who have visited



MUMMY FLORAL DECORATION  
restored from withered Specimens,  
FROM DEIR EL BAHARI.





the Eternal City will remember the old temple, now a church, but still bearing the dedication, *Divo Antonino et Divæ Faustinae*. It goes on to say she is "crowned with flowers;" flowers were with the Egyptians emblems of festivity, of pleasure and happiness; they wore them on their heads and carried them in their hands at feasts; and flowers furnished the models for their architecture, for the capitals of their columns, and for their wall decorations.

Flowers played an important part at Egyptian funerals; the mummy was covered with them, they were placed upon his head, and chains of them were hung round his neck. Flowers also were stuck in the bandages.

When the coffins lately brought from Thebes to Boulak were opened, they were found filled with the funeral flower chains, garlands, and single flowers deposited there thirty centuries ago. These were in a wonderfully perfect state of preservation, so much so that the colours were still distinguishable. I annex a drawing showing the construction of these chains and the arrangement of the colours. (See Plate XLVIII.)

Schweinfurth has reported that the blue flowers prove to be Larkspur, and the yellow Mimosa, the red a kind of flower which grows in Abyssinia; it is not found in Egypt at present. In the making of the wreaths a kind of moss was used, which is not found in Egypt, and, from the dry nature of its climate, never could have grown there, but it occurs in great abundance in Greece. This is interesting as showing that there must have been a commerce between Greece and Egypt so early as the eighteenth dynasty, as it

is in coffins of that period amongst others this Greek plant occurs.

It seems strange that though the bodies had mouldered to dust, the flowers with which it had been wreathed were so wonderfully preserved that even their colours could be distinguished, and they looked as if only recently dried; yet a flower is the very type of ephemeral beauty that passeth away, and is gone almost as soon as born. A wasp, which had been attracted by the floral treasures and had entered the coffin of Amunoph I. at the moment of closing, was found dried up but still perfect, having lasted better than the king, whose emblem of sovereignty it had once been; now it was there to mock the embalmer's skill and to add point to the sermon on the vanity of human pride and power preached to us by the contents of that coffin. Inexorable is the decree, "Unto dust shalt thou return!"

Amongst the floral decorations of these mummies were many lotus buds. They were inserted here and there in the bandages, and though dried up and withered, every leaflet and petal was perfect. They were in form just as they are represented in the wall paintings.

The flower chains were arranged in the form of necklaces, one row below another, the flowers being set closely together in a border formed of some tough green leaf cut into vandykes; the colours were arranged in blocks, blue, red, and yellow alternating in each chain.

"She is seated in her beauty in the arms of Khonsou." Khonsou was regarded as a kind of oracle god. A curious incident illustrating this occurred in the reign of

Rameses IX. when that king sent the sacred statue of Khonsou, in his shrine, to Mesopotamia, to be consulted as to the malady of his sister-in-law, Basht Bent. The name by the way recalls the name of Khou-en-Aten's wife's sister, Bent-mut; their mother Taia was also a native of Naharina—"the land between the two rivers," *i.e.*, Mesopotamia, and the confirmation thus presented by the recurrence of an Assyrian name is interesting. There exists a stele having reference to this incident.

It is curious that the Egyptians and Assyrians were always intermarrying and always fighting, a combination not unknown in more modern times and between more modern families. These alliances began with the marriage of Amunoph III. with Taia, daughter of Juah and Shua, prince and princess of Mesopotamia, and continued at intervals during seven dynasties, down to the time of the Shishaks and Usarkons.

The God Khonsou is specially Theban; he is the son of Amen and Maut. He is sometimes represented wearing a disc with horns and also the lunar crescent. He bears the appellation of "Khonsou, the good protector of the Thebaid, who drives away from it its enemies," that is to say the evil spirits.

Khonsou was, in fact, the moon god, and the signification of the passage "she is in the arms of Khonsou" is that, as the moon was one of their emblems of the new life or of the resurrection, owing to its renewal each month to all eternity, so her being in the arms of that god signified sure hope of eternal life to her. Khonsou himself was peculiarly a Theban deity; he is sometimes represented in a boat, wearing on his head the crescent; sometimes he is represented with the side lock, indicative of youth. Statuettes and figures of this

god in blue or green porcelain, even in silver and in bronze, are often found. These statuettes represent him as he appears in the bas-reliefs of the temples, wearing the disc and crescent, and holding in his hand the sceptre, emblem of purity; he is represented in the Greek mythology by the goddess Diana. The ever changing form of the moon from quarter to quarter was regarded as an emblem of the various transformations which they believed the soul to undergo after its separation from the body; the signification of the side lock, emblem of youth, was in reference to the periodically recurring new moon. "The moon is young" is an expression still in use amongst us. I may here observe that the Symbolism which is such a marked characteristic of Egyptian mythology is primarily due to their system of writing, into which the use of symbols entered largely; in fact hieroglyphic symbolism trained them to religious allegory. There is reason to believe that originally their religion was monotheistic, and that even to a very late period of their history the initiated continued to regard their numerous deities as so many manifestations of the one Supreme Being; "Oh Great God of *multitudinous manifestations*" is an invocation found in the book of Hades. But they had an exoteric system which they deemed more suitable to the ignorant and unrefined minds of the people, ever averse to abstract ideas and unapt to comprehend them. They first tried to individualize the myriad aspects and attributes and manifestations of the Almighty, as they presented themselves in the realms of nature and in his dealings with man; until at last it came to be, as it were, a fifty-fold extension of our THREE in ONE. The various

Divine offices and functions, thus personified, they nevertheless did not under the ancient Empire venture to present to the people painted or sculptured in bodily form, but each had its hieroglyph. Horus was typified by a Hawk ; Thoth by an Ibis ; Maut, the Universal Mother, by a Vulture. Isis was typified under three forms : as queen of heaven, her hieroglyph was a Throne ; as the goddess of fecundity, she is typified as a Cow ; but being also the mother of Horus, her most ancient monogram was a Cage enclosing Horus, and hence her name Hathor, originally Ha-te-Hor, the house or home of Horus, because she had once contained him. As a consequence of this double aspect, she became the Juno of Greece and Rome, and the Venus of Cyprus, and was adopted thence by those two nations, as an entirely separate and independent personage. As Juno, however, she at first was represented with a cow's head—such a head of solid silver was found at Mycenæ—and Homer calls her “cow-eyed.” As the Venus of Cyprus, she was at first represented with cow's ears, like Hathor, and subsequently as a woman. The Egyptians did not attach the idea of beauty to her at all : that was a comparatively modern Greek refinement. She is known as Hathor fully 4000 years B.C., but not as the impersonation of beauty, until the development of Greek civilization and Greek ideas. But they always drew Ma, the goddess of Truth, beautiful. She, if any, was their ideal, and it was a very noble one. In this threefold personification of Isis, we have a good illustration of the evolution of polytheism out of monotheism.

Let us proceed with the next words of the inscription

"Her father." Egyptian kings and queens were very fond of calling this or that god or goddess their father or their mother. Rameses and other Pharaohs are often figured on bas-reliefs as being suckled by Hathor or Anke or Isis.

"Lord of the Thebaid." I have already observed that Khonsou was specially a Theban God; he forms the third in the triad in which Amen Ra and Mau occupy the first and second places.


"He is in the place of departed spirits," *i.e.*, he is there, where she is, to receive her and grant her prayers—her being "in his arms" may be considered analogous to the Jewish expression for the righteous in the intermediate state; "in Abraham's bosom."

"He grants everything in response to her prayers to the disembodied spirit of Is-em-Kheb."

"Abbess of the shrines;" the word Khennou which I have translated "shrines" signified any enclosed place; \* it contains the idea of privacy, of being shut in from the outer world. It was applied to the cabins of their boats, also to the women's apartments—the Hareem. Also to the colleges of priestesses devoted to Amen Ra and to her deities, like the vestal virgins among the Romans. It may be in this last sense that it is used here—it might mean either that or the shrines, the Holy of Holies of their temples; in either case it was an office of the highest distinction, often filled by Queens, especially of the priestly dynasty of Her Hor.

"Of Ra of Isis, of Horus of Anubis." Of Isis, consort of Osiris and mother of Horus, whom she is often represented suckling, I have already spoken.

\* The Gipsies have a slang word, "Ken," which has the same meaning.

Horus is presented in manifold aspects in Egyptian mythology. Mainly as the vindicator of the principle of Good; as the avenger of his father, Osiris, who succumbed temporarily in his struggle against Evil embodied in the god Set, who corresponds to our Satan. Set was represented as a beast with long pointed ears and erect tail, and may perhaps be the origin of the popular representations of Satan, the ears having come to be regarded as horns. 

Horus was also identified with the rising sun; the whole series of natural stages of the sun's progress each day across the heavens, and its ultimate disappearance, was treated as an allegory of the struggle between good and evil. The setting in the west—the supposed plunge into darkness and into the gloomy regions of Amenti—was viewed as the temporary triumph of evil, of the succumbing of the good principle to the assaults of the wicked one. So do we also identify good with light, and evil with darkness. But the rising again in the east typified the ever-recurring triumph of good over evil in the person of Horus. The disk with a child in the centre which appears in the Ritual of the Dead, and on the walls of the great tombs and on funeral papyri, is an emblem both of the rising sun and of the resurrection to eternal life; the child is Horus.

The representation of the evil principle in the guise of a serpent, who in the infernal regions tries to destroy the sun, emblem of good, is another instance of parallelism with our own religious types worth noting.

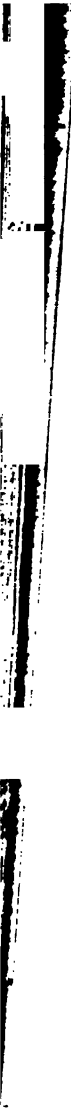
Horus is often figured as a child standing on the head of a crocodile—our dragon—and holding in each hand a bundle of serpents—origin of the myth of the infant Hercules strangling the serpents in his cradle.

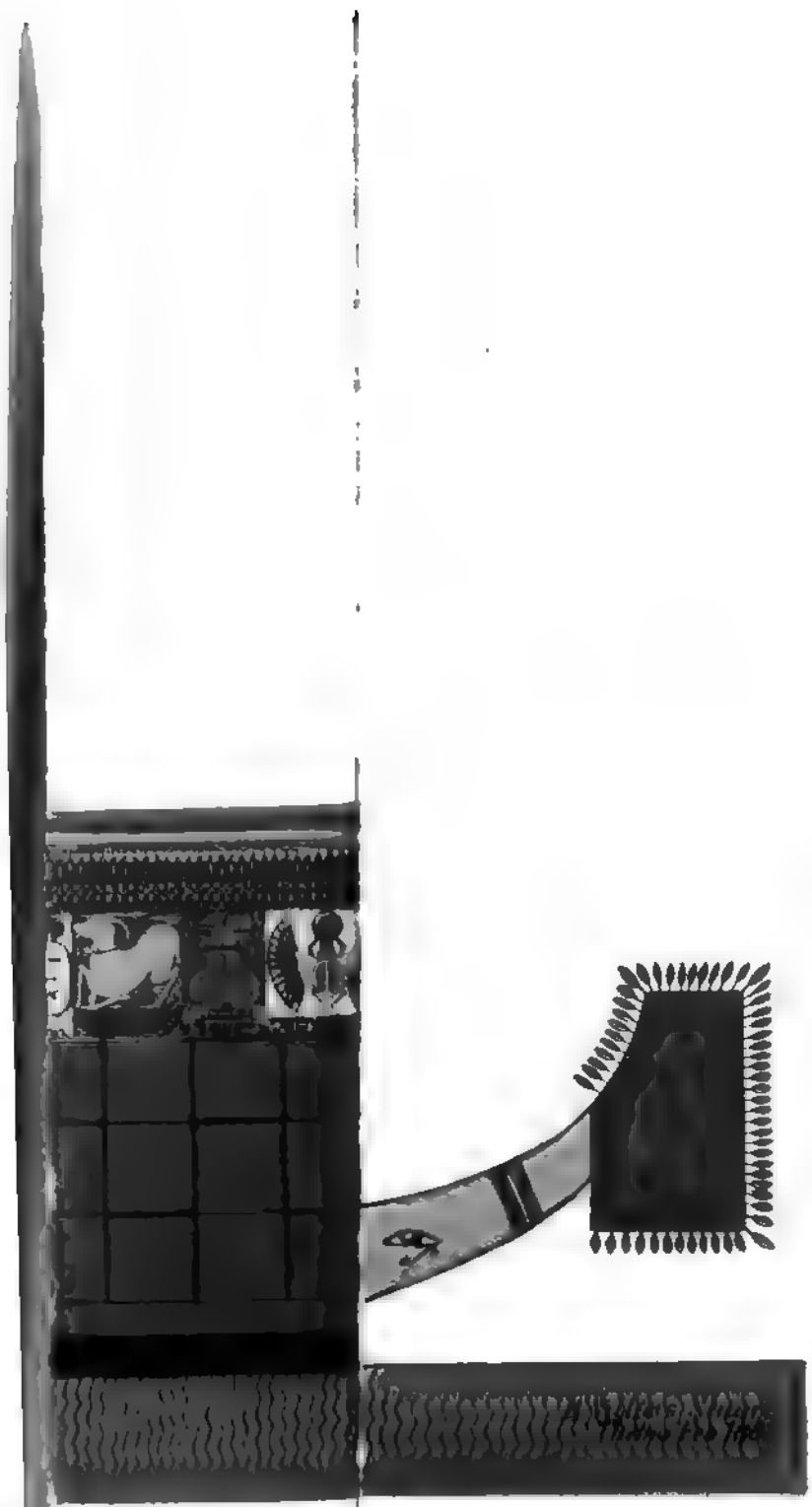
Anubis is the next Deity mentioned in the inscription.

Anubis ranks as one of the earliest known Egyptian Deities. His hieroglyph was a sharp-eared, bushy tailed dog, still found in Abyssinia, and by this hieroglyph only was he represented in the bas-reliefs of the ancient Empire; they gave his name, but did not mean that the hieroglyph which spelt it was his bodily shape. When at last—abandoning the simplicity and good taste of early times—the priests ventured to introduce to the people the Gods in human form on the monuments, they adopted the expedient of mounting their hieroglyphs upon human shoulders: thus Anubis was represented as a man with a dog's head; Horus, with a hawk's head; Sebek, with a crocodile's head; Thoth, with an ibis' head; Khnum, with a ram's head, &c., &c. They dealt more considerately with the ladies. It happened that in many instances their emblems admitted of being worn as head ornaments. The emblem of Ma, the Goddess of Justice and Truth, was an ostrich feather; they represented her therefore as a beautiful woman, wearing a plume. The head of Isis was in like manner surmounted with the model of a throne. She was sometimes adorned in addition with the horns of a cow, thus further identifying her with Hathor. Nephthys, her sister, is distinguished by a turret head-dress, and Neith by a shuttle. Sefek, the Goddess of Letters, of Knowledge, and Literature, is adorned with a star and crescent. This emblem is of interesting significance, for it hints at astronomy as the earliest realm of scientific knowledge, as it naturally would be; for the heavens were spread out as a book for men to study while they were still shepherds keeping their flocks by night, and long before either papyrus or inscriptions were









THE QUEENS - THE



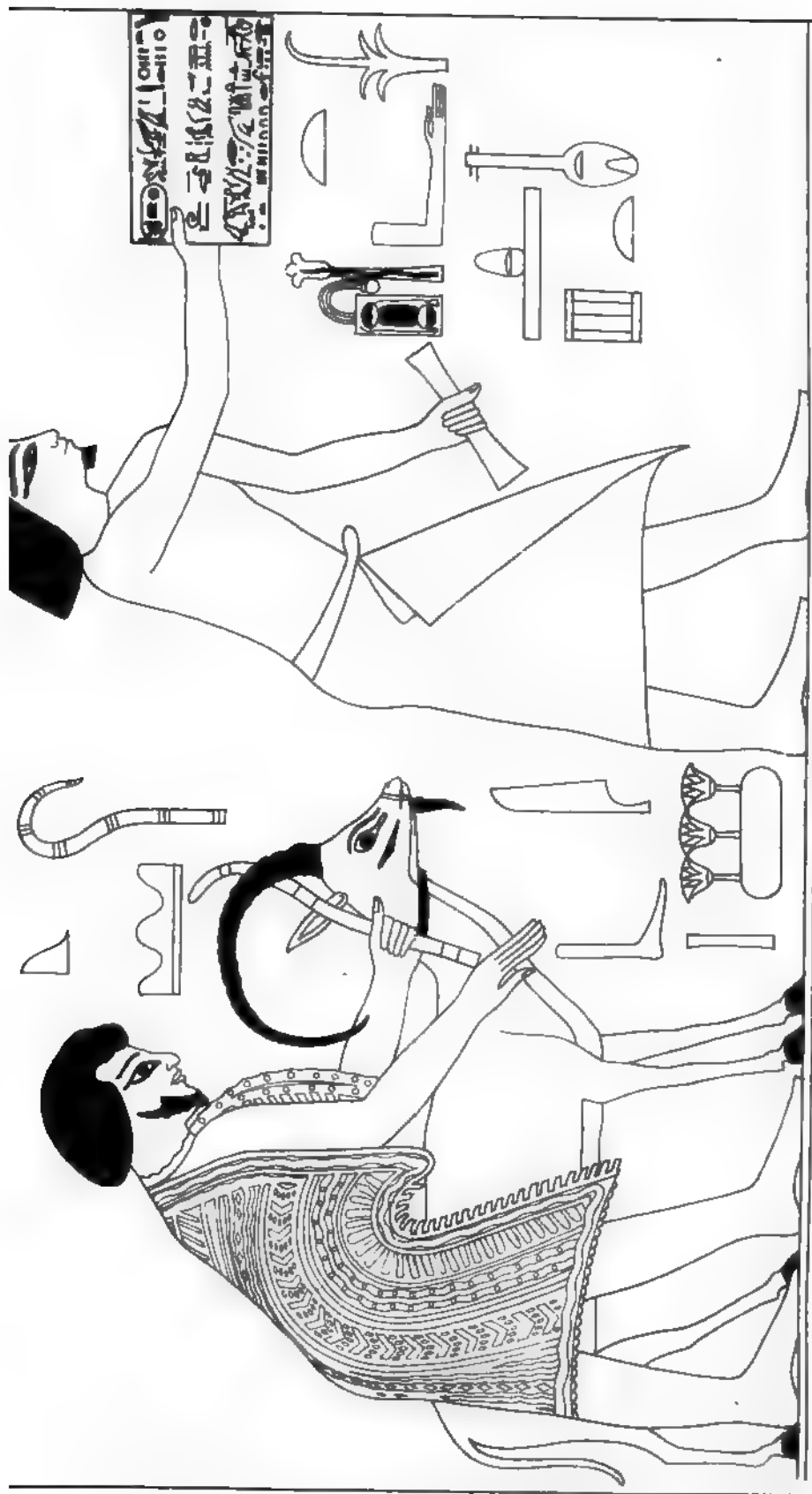
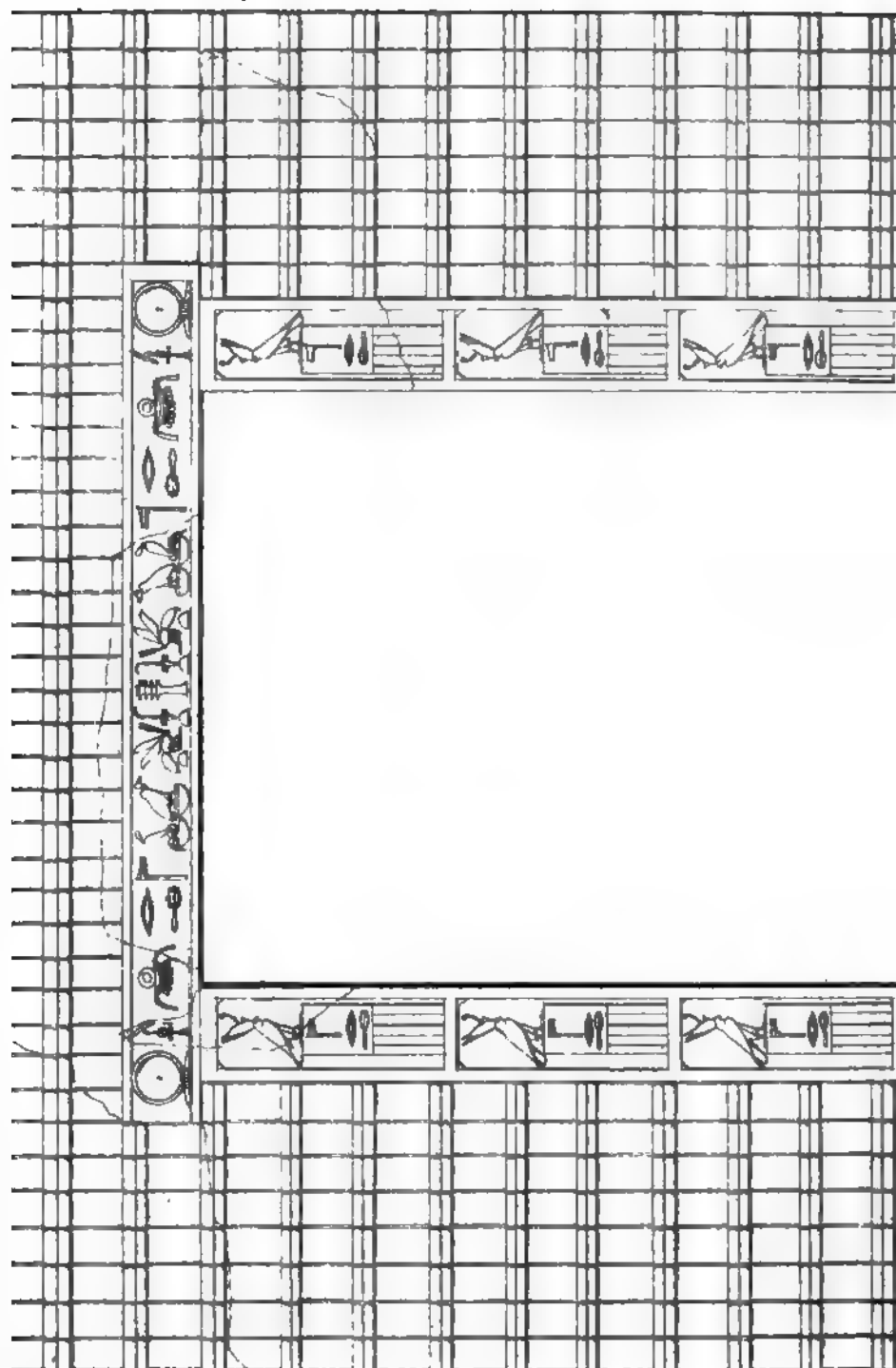


PLATE 3.

LETTER FROM KING OUSERTES II TO KNOUM HOTEP.

WALL PAINTING WEST WALL.





DOORWAY OF STEP — PYRAMID SAKHARA





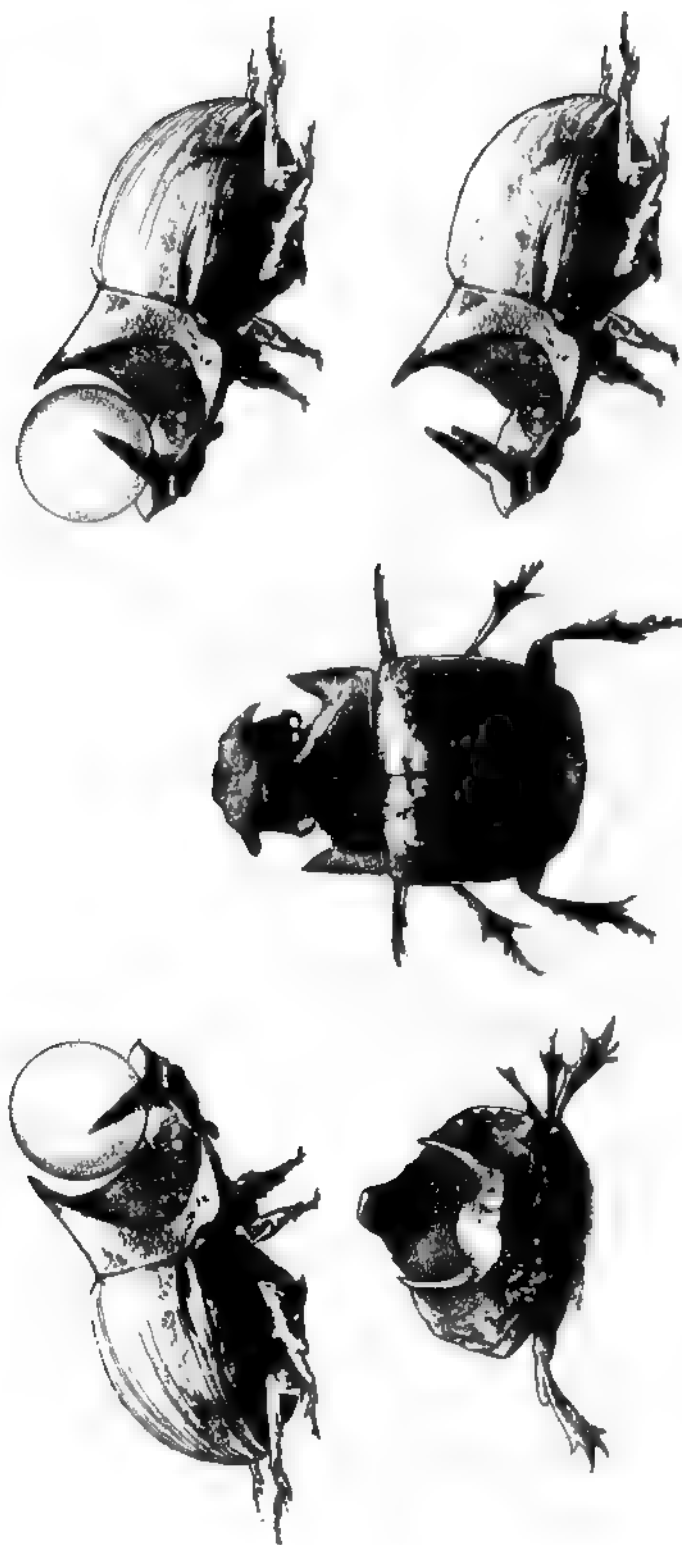


PLATE 5

THE MALE SCARAB OF EGYPT PHOTOGRAPHED FROM A SPECIMEN  
CAPTURED BY THE AUTHOR AT THEBES. — LIFE SIZE

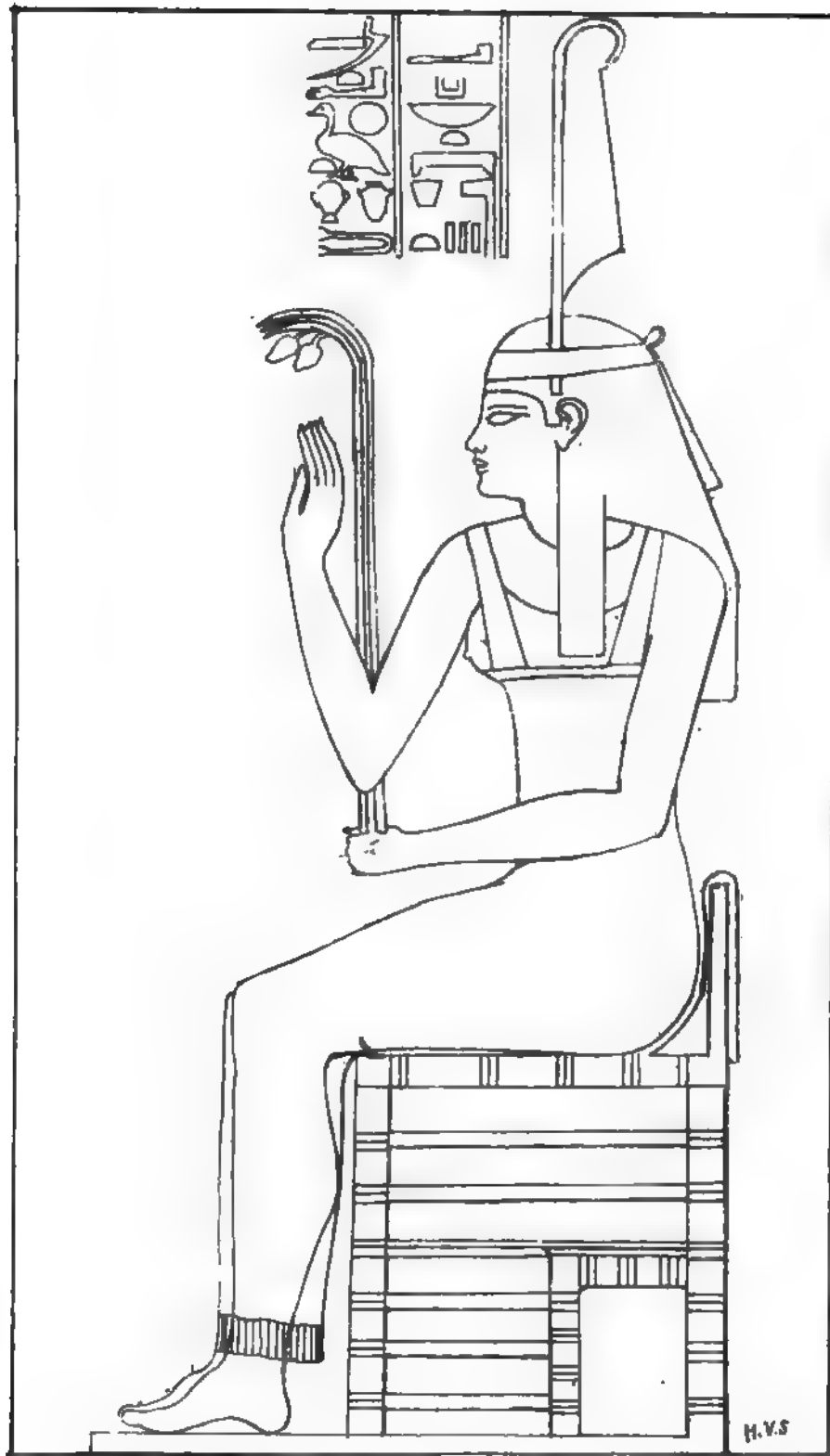
Vincent Brooks Day & Son Photo Lith





THE GODDESS OF AMENTI! TOMB N°14 THEBES





: 7.

MA GODDESS OF TRUTH & JUSTICE, BAS-RELIEF. THEBES.



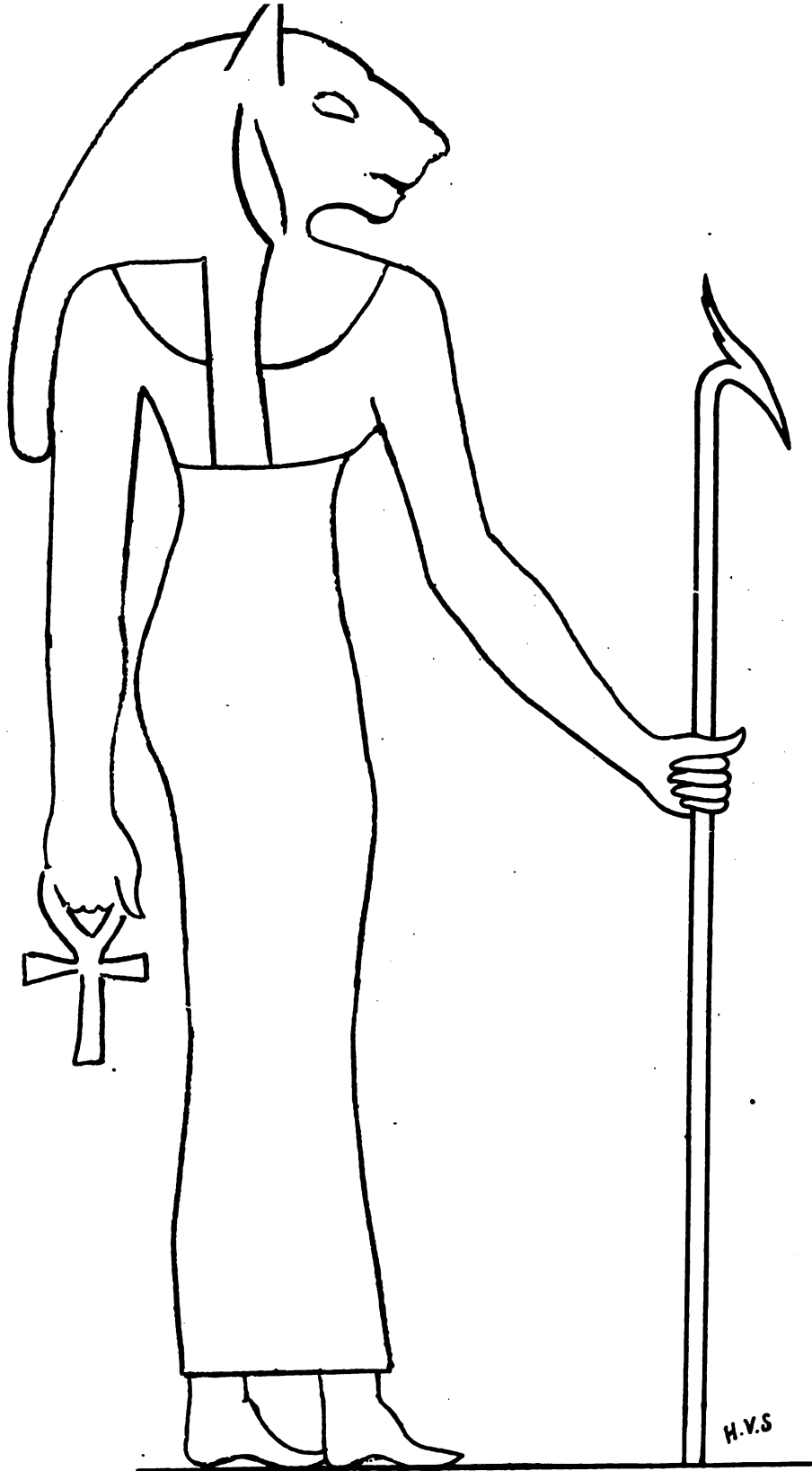


ME 7A

THE GODDESS SEFECK, THE EGYPTIAN MINERVA  
BAS-RELIEF TEMPLE OF AMADA







THE GODDESS SEKHET. TOMB OF SETHI-THEBES.



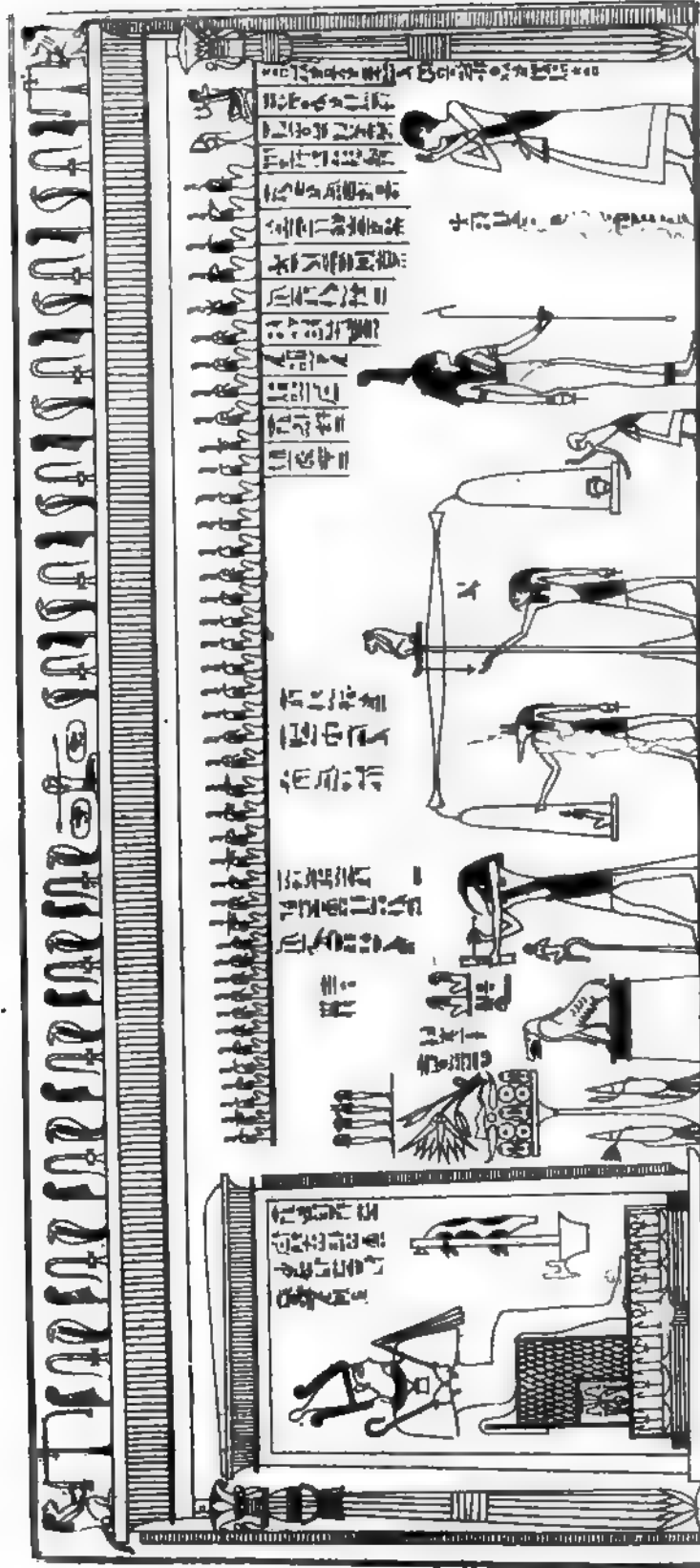
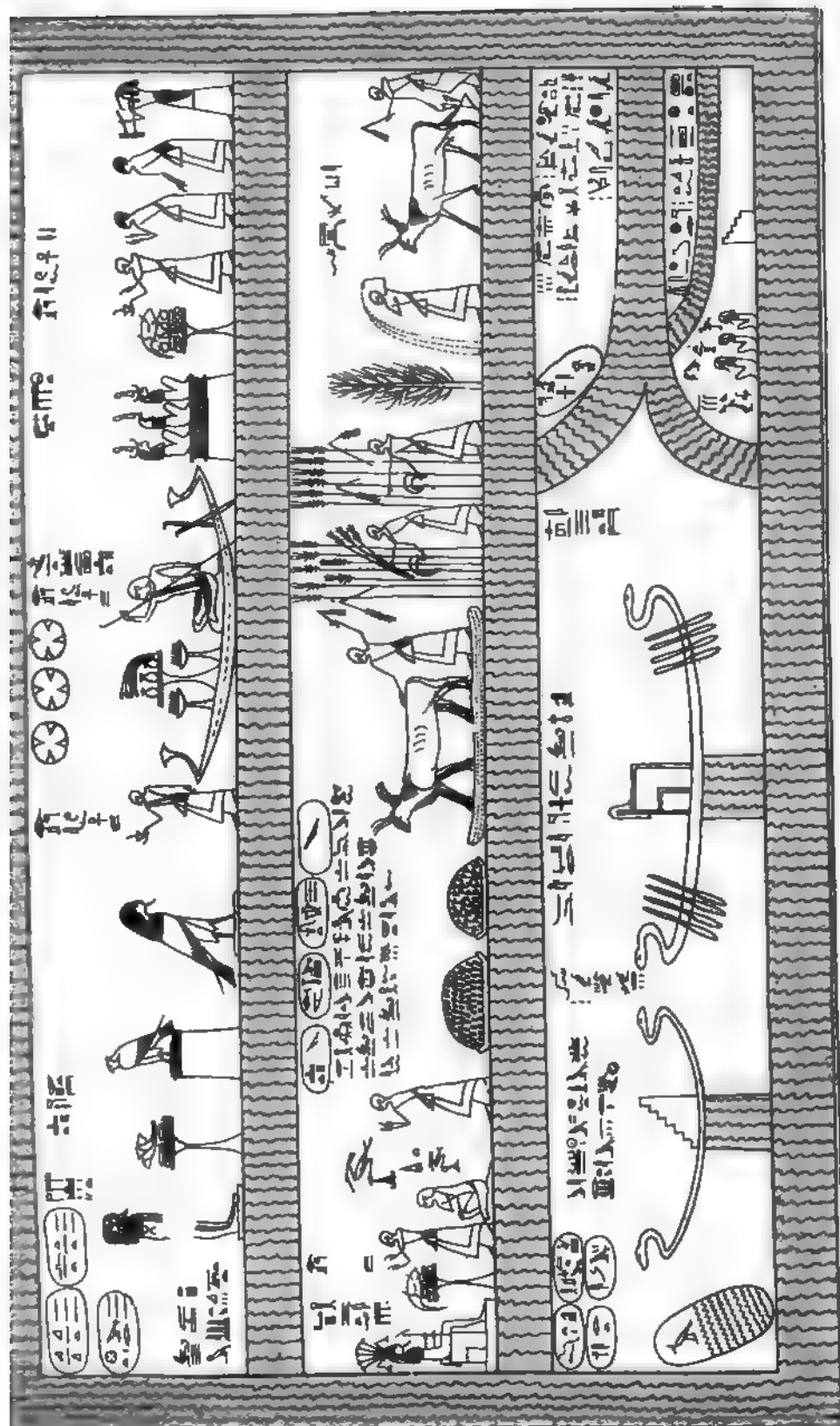


PLATE 9.

THE JUDGMENT HALL OF OSIRIS.





ANCIENT EGYPTIAN TOMB





MUMMY AND COFFIN OF QUEEN IS-EM-KHEB  
CONTEMPORARY OF SOLOMON.

11



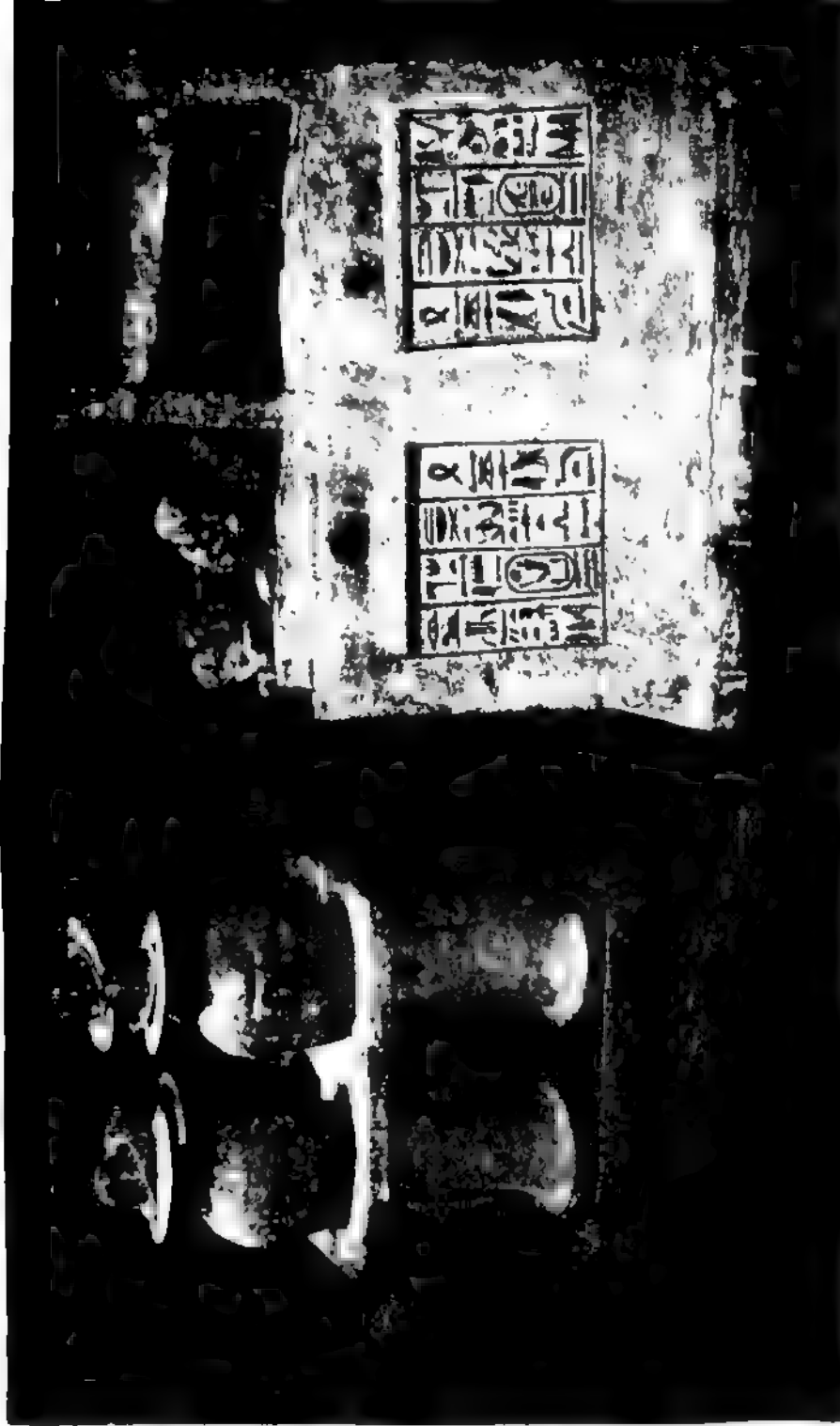


PLATE 32

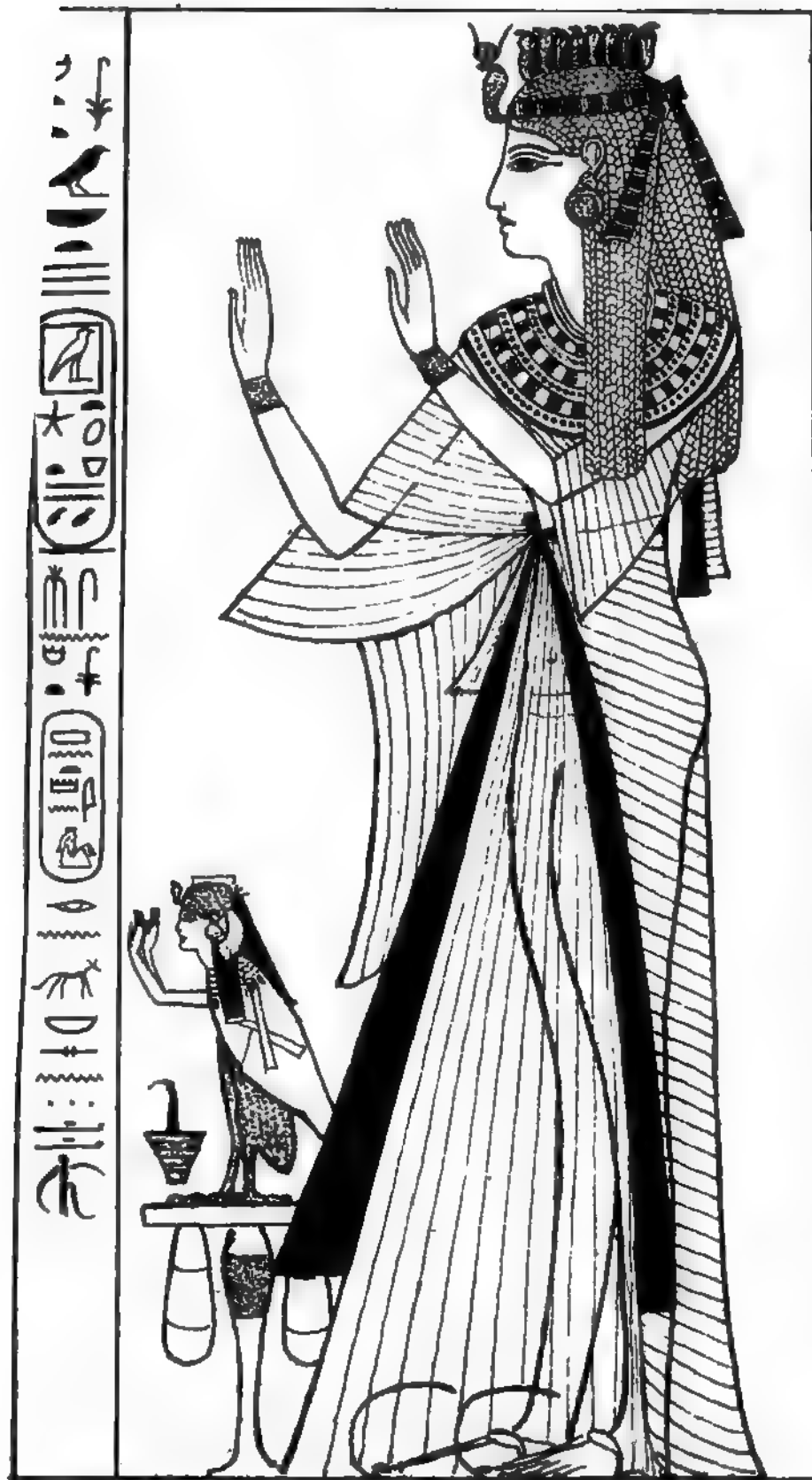
LIBATION VASES OF IS-EM-KHEB & CASKET OF QUEEN NOTEM & HER BABY





PORTRAIT OF AHMES NOFRETARI.  
CONSORT OF AMOSIS.





QUEEN HENTAOUI FROM HER PAPYRUS.  
NOW IN PARIS.

TE 42.



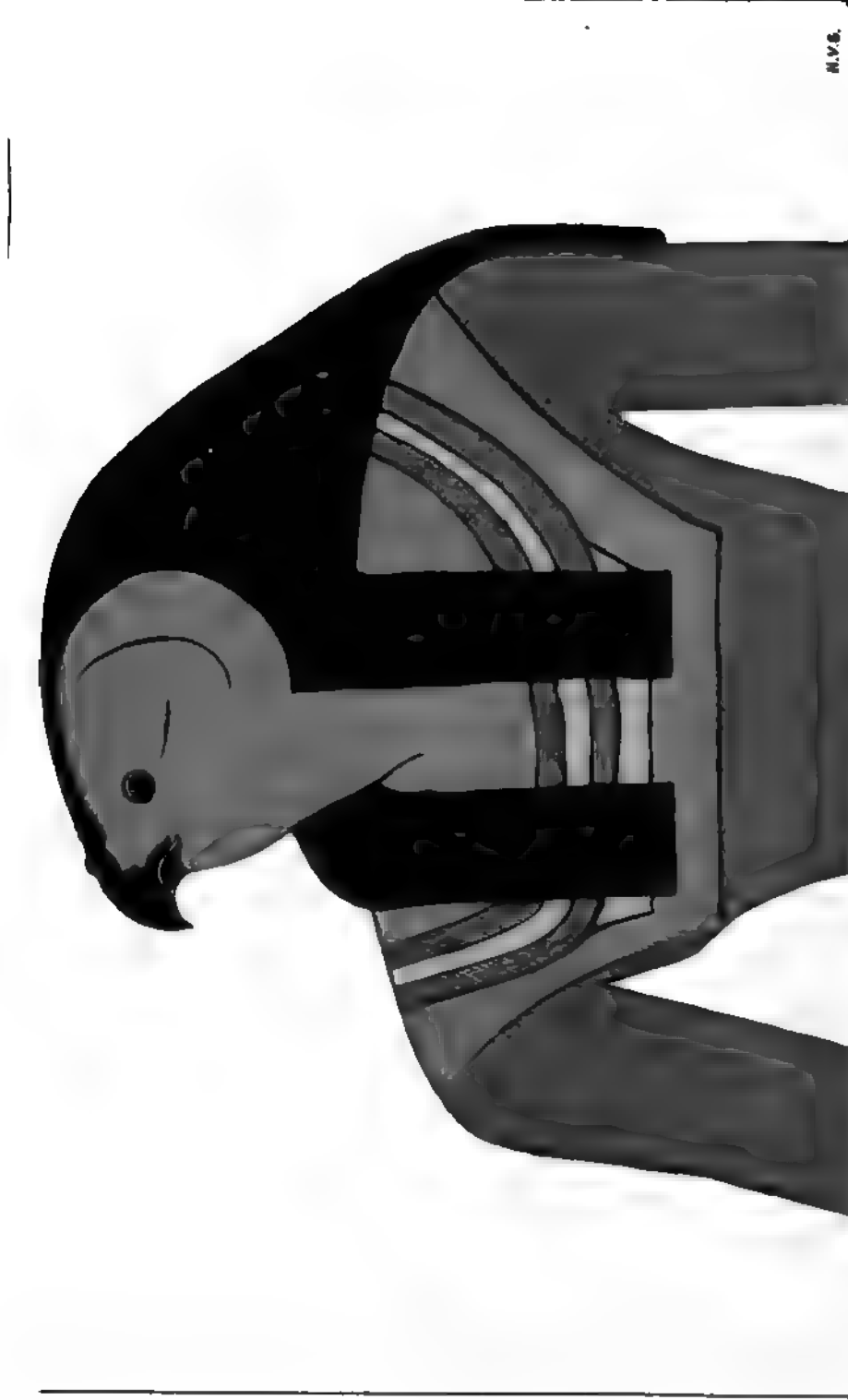
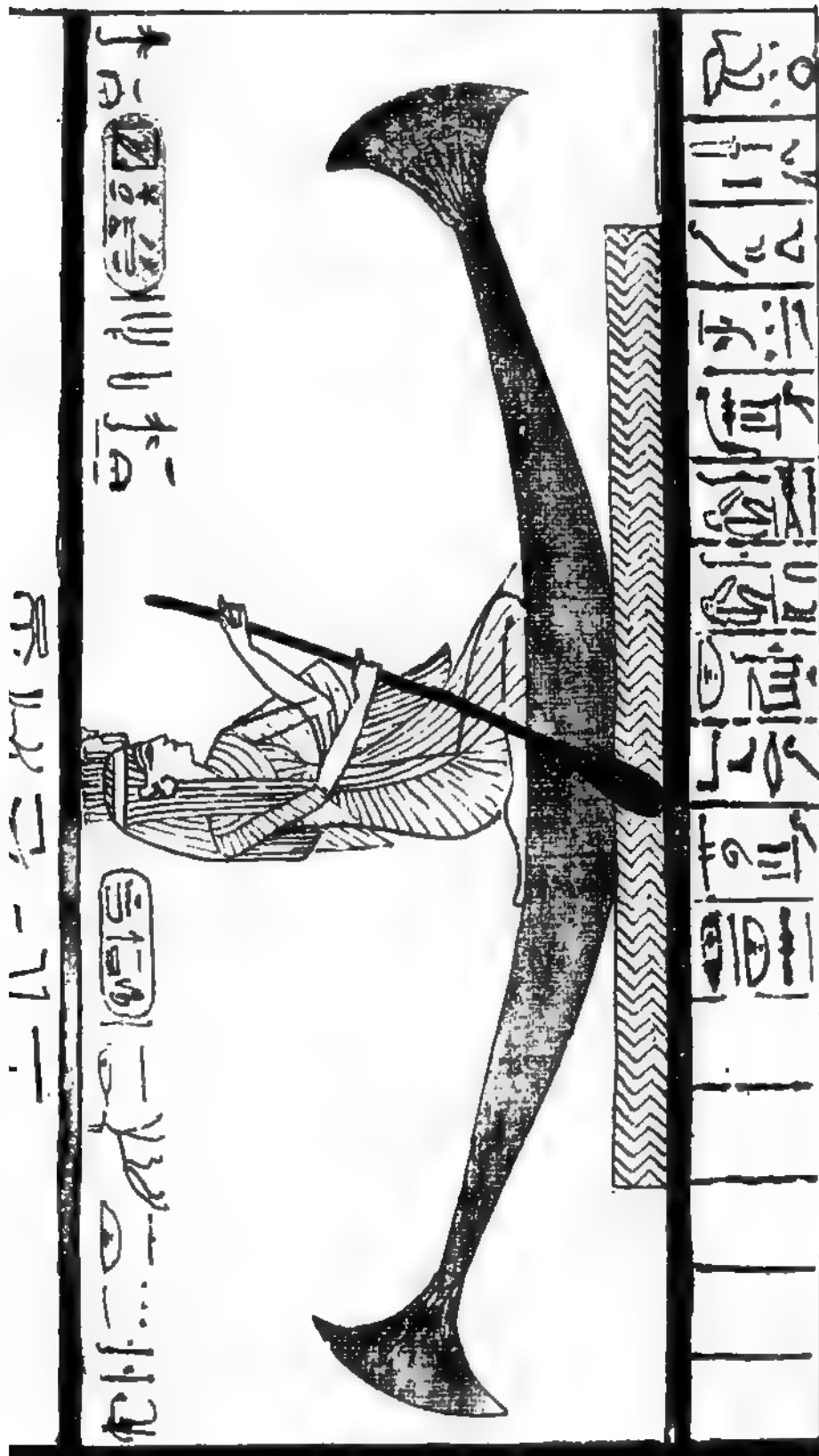


PLATE 43.

HORUS RA BAS-RELIEF FROM A ROCK TEMPLE IN NUBIA.

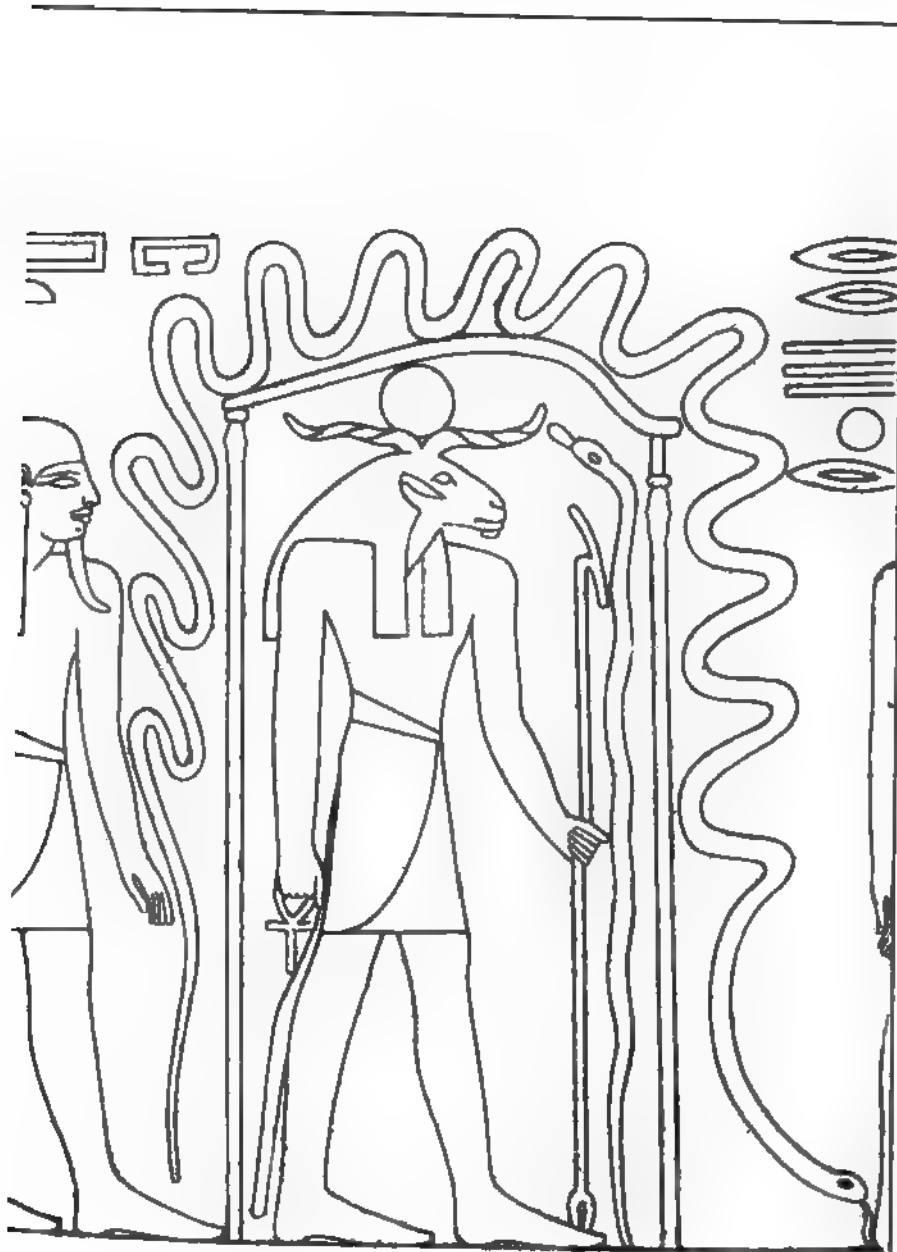






THE QUEEN IN PARADISE.

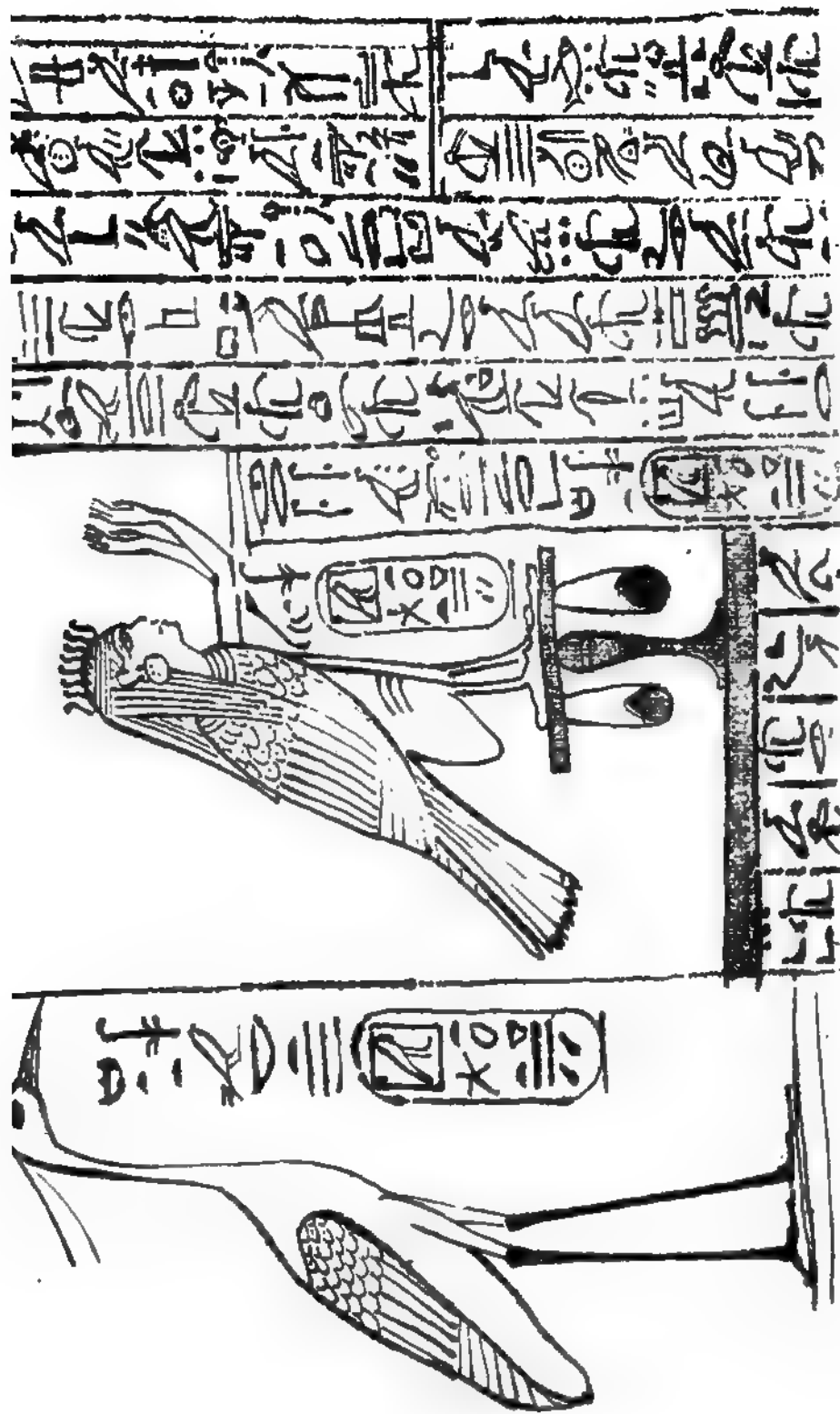




E 46

RA IN HADES.  
TOMBS OF THE KINGS THEBES.





VIGNETTE FROM PAFYRUS OF QUEEN HENTAOU





En Ka en

"To the disembodied spirit of."



Sa te

"The daughter



Nuter Hon tep

(of) "The chief priest."



An Amen

"Of Amen."



Her te

"The Lady Superioress"



Khennou

"Of the shrines,"



An Khnum. Ra, Is", Hor, Anpou,

"Of Khnum? of Ra, of Isis, of Horus, of Anubis."



Is em Kheb Queen of the lotus and papyrus."

PLATE


LXIV

DEDICATION TO IS EM KHEB.





invented. I annex portraits of Ma and Sefeck (Plates VI. and VII.), the faces being fac-similes from original bas-reliefs; one from a tomb which I discovered at Thebes, the other from the Temple of Amada in Nubia. They are wearing their emblems as already described; viz., the ostrich plume and the star and crescent. The faces are of course conventional; but still, as they must have been drawn from the Egyptian ideal, and must therefore be accepted as typical, it is worth observing that there is nothing Semitic and nothing African about them, but they are distinctly of the so-called Indo-Germanic type.

While on the subject of Egyptian deities, I may call attention to a Greek and Roman deity, whose Egyptian origin has hitherto escaped notice, and that is Hecate, who like Circe was a witch; her Egyptian name is Heck-te, and her monogram is  Heck-te-neb,



mistress of the toad; the connection of the arch-witch with toads and serpents in Scandinavian and Celtic popular legends is well known, and like so many other mythological traditions, may be traced to an Egyptian source. The identity of the Roman Circe and the Greek Κίρκη with the Egyptian  has been already referred to in "Nile Gleanings," page 262. Circe's emblem was a scorpion, as her sister witch's was a toad. Heck-te had his special priests. ? her

Plate IX. represents the Goddess Sekhet ; as her emblem, a lioness' head, could not conveniently be worn as an ornament, it was made to replace her own upon her shoulders. This deity belongs to the infernal regions, and her function is the punishment of

give dinners and wise men eat them," was no doubt in the mind of many an Egyptian priest as he filled himself with the delicacies provided for the Ka. These notions are not quite unrepresented even in our day. I remember a man stipulating in his will that a stove pipe should pass through his funeral vault that he might not suffer from cold; and most of us would prefer a bright sunny spot for our graves rather than a gloomy one; though I suppose an unsentimental and austere logic might contend that it could not much matter. There are more things however in heaven and earth than are dreamt of in our philosophy, and perhaps there is a flaw in the logic somewhere. This instinct or sentiment may have more reason in it than we suppose.



Here is the priest of a pyramid presenting offerings to the spirit of the king its occupant. At all events this doctrine of the Ka filled an important place in their philosophy, and to it we are indebted for much of the most interesting monumental records. But for it we should have had no statues of the ancient Empire, no inscriptions, no pictures of hunting, fishing, fowling, agricultural industries, and other phases of their everyday life; no sculptured halls and corridors such as form the stately mausoleums of the kings at Thebes. It was for their Ka that the long inscriptions from the Ritual of the Dead, illuminated with such weird scenes, were engraved on the walls. For their delectation the pictures of musical instruments, of warlike weapons, of domestic furniture were painted; for them the "gilded saloon" was filled with vessels of silver and gold, with furniture, food, and jewelled ornaments; and for their justification

the reproduction of all their pious offerings and sacrifices to the gods during their lives. To their tombs were carried and stored away all that they had most valued during life, that their spirits might take pleasure in them as they flitted through the gloomy subterranean corridors during long ages, and beguiled the tedium in contemplation of what had been their occupation and their happiness in life.

The final characters of the inscription read "Queen of the lotus and papyrus." This is a poetical way of saying that she was Queen of Northern and Southern Egypt. Therefore, when Khonsou "grants everything" to the Ka of Is-em-Kheb, it means every funereal luxury in her long home, and we are reminded, "He is in Amenti, the place of departed spirits"—he is there to do it. The Etruscans had the same theory of the Ka of the deceased, and in Dennis's "Etruria" will be found an actual representation from one of their bas-reliefs of the disembodied spirit conducted by Anubis, who is also figured with a dog's head, into the presence of his judges. I have already referred in "Nile Gleanings" to the many links which connect the ancient Etruscans with the Egyptians, and point to their migration from the valley of the Nile.

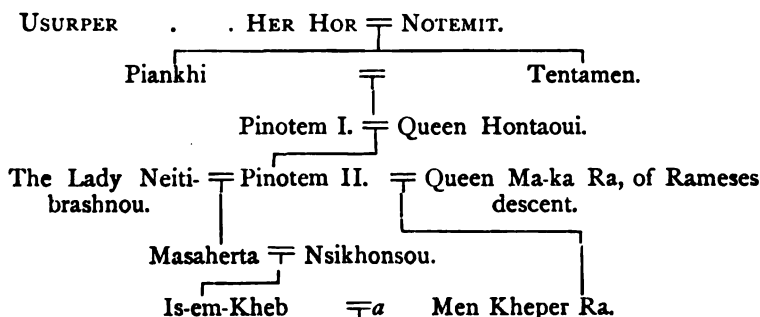
There is a doubtful illegible character preceding the hawk with the flail (Ra). Dr. Birch suggests that it may be intended for a ram's head and horns, and be the hieroglyph for the god Khnum. Monsieur Vasalli, of Boulak, and I, examined it there attentively, but we could make nothing of it, owing to its injured condition, but I think Dr. Birch's suggestion is correct. The Egyptians laid so much stress on the furnishing of their tombs with provisions and material necessities for the inter-

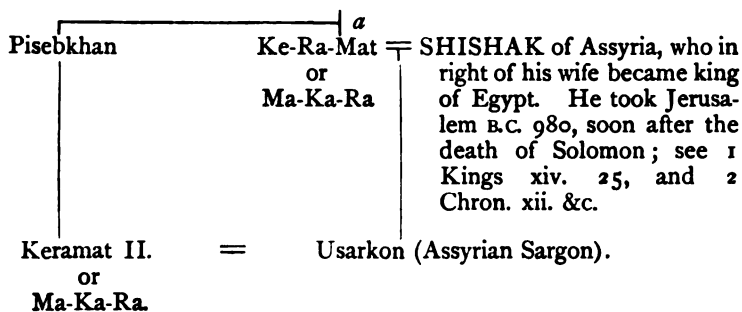
mediate state, and for offerings to the gods in Aahlou, that one would like to know their notions as to the condition of the poor who could not afford these funeral luxuries. Were they to exist in a condition of poverty and hunger and disfavour with the gods before whom they came empty-handed? Or were they to be cast out altogether?

The whole inscription runs as follows :

"She is seated all beautiful in her place enthroned . . . . amongst the gods of the south she is crowned with flowers perfumed with incense like that of the spice land of Pount. . . She is seated in her beauty in the arms of Khonsou her father, the Lord of Thebes, fulfilling his desires. He is in the land of departed spirits, he grants everything in response to her prayers to the disembodied spirit of the daughter of the chief Priest of Amen, Abbess of the shrines . . . . of Ra of Isis, of Horus, of Anubis, even to Is-em Kheb, queen of the papyrus and the lotus (countries)."

This Queen occupies an important place in the chronological chain of Egyptian history, because we know that she was the mother-in-law of Shishak, whose capture of Jerusalem on the death of Solomon gives the tolerably certain and fixed date of 980 B.C. I therefore give her family pedigree :—





It appears, therefore, that Is-em-Kheb died about 1000 B.C., twenty years before the capture of Jerusalem, and about 90 years after the Siege of Troy.

The above table illustrates the frequency of marriages among the Egyptian reigning families within what would be with us prohibited degrees of consanguinity. Her Hor's son Piankhi married his sister. Piankhi's grandson married his own niece Is-em-Kheb, and the grandson and granddaughter of the latter also married each other, and became the parents of Shishak. This frequent breeding in and in was, no doubt, the cause of the rapid degeneracy and frequent changes of dynasties, male issue often failing, and the female representatives marrying military adventurers. It is to be observed that Shishak was also of Ramesside descent, his father having married the daughter of Rameses XIV.; he therefore had a double claim to the throne, both by right of his wife and by right of his mother.

Eighteen or twenty generations had elapsed since the death of Rameses II., and I must here again enter a renewed protest against the date now assigned by some leading Egyptologists for the death of Rameses II. They base it upon a shadowy astronomical calcula-

tion, founded upon the mention of a certain Sothis period during that king's reign, but I have closely questioned several of them, and it appears that this foundation is most unreliable, it is very far from conclusive. Here is what Brugsch Pasha says on the subject.

“Some men of science believe that they have discovered another mode of arriving at the determination of important epochs of Egyptian history in certain accounts of astronomical observations, which they have for this purpose subjected to exact calculation. The opportunity has been given for complicated calculations of such a kind by the reign of a king named Menophres, under whom, according to a Greek account, a new Sothic cycle began; again by the data contained in several royal sepulchres concerning the risings of the star Sothis (our Sirius) under the reigns of contemporary Ramessids; finally by some miscellaneous monuments relating to astronomy,—but as to the value or worthlessness of these supposed results scientific criticism has not yet spoken its last word. Instead of growing less, the difficulties in determining the chronological relations of Egyptian history are, on the contrary, multiplied from day to day, for new problems, the solution of which has still to be waited for, are continually presenting themselves in the province of investigations about chronology. To mention one example: the question is now very properly raised whether the old inhabitants of the Nile valley used the same form of calendar at all ages of their historical existence; whether they knew the Sothic cycle of the year, or any sidereal cycle derived from observation of the stars; whether in the tables still extant they

recorded the rising and setting of certain stars and constellations merely with the view of fixing their position for a certain epoch of the reign of this or that king—all questions of the highest importance, but which up to the present time have waited in vain for their solution.”

On the other hand, we have the following undoubted facts in support of a considerably earlier date.

Between the death of Rameses and the period of Shishak, eighteen or twenty reigns have to be fitted in. The average duration of our English reigns has been, one with another, twenty-four years; applying the same measure to the Egyptian reigns, we cannot allow less than 450 years for the interval between Rameses and Shishak. That would put the death of the former about 1450 B.C., which corresponds with the Bible date of the Exodus, which took place very soon after his death. Adopting a different basis of calculation, looking not to generations or reigns, but to the historic events that have to be fitted in; we have the Exodus, the forty years' sojourn of the Israelites in the wilderness, their government by judges “by the space of” 450 years, and the reigns of Saul, David, and Solomon. We have, in fact, to resort to a very considerable reduction of St. Paul's estimate of the period of the Israelitish theocratic form of government by judges, to make these events fit. The Apostle guards himself, and allows for a limited amount of error when he uses the phrase “by the space of.” We ought, therefore, to feel the more confidence in the substantial correctness of his statement. It would be as difficult to suppose an educated Englishman ignorant of the interval that elapsed between William the

Conqueror and Henry the Eighth, as an educated Jew ignorant of so important a point in his national history, as the duration of the Israelitish government by judges. We have, besides, evidence from the genealogies and generations of some private Egyptian families.

We have no less than 25 generations of family pedigree of a race of Court architects who flourished during several dynasties, including both that of Rameses and that of Her Hor. At three generations to a century, these would cover 800 years.



## CHAPTER XXI.

The Papyrus—The Lotus—The Funeral Cortège—A Wedding Present—Wall Paintings—The Judgment—Life in Paradise—The Vulture Emblem—The Great Central Panel—The left-hand Flap.

WE now come to the last passage in the inscription ; it is her title—"QUEEN OF THE LAND OF THE PAPYRUS AND THE LOTUS."

The papyrus is not a native of Northern Egypt. It was probably brought with them by the original colonists of the Nile valley from the lakes of the Abyssinian lowlands, and cultivated for its valuable properties. It grows spontaneously in enormous quantities towards the head waters both of the Blue and the White Nile. The portion of the river nearest the great lakes is in fact almost choked with it, but in Northern Egypt it is an exotic, artificially maintained by cultivation. Ezekiel calls it the paper reed, and prophesies that it shall cease, and his prediction was accomplished when other and better substitutes were discovered. Parchment came into fashion instead of papyrus, and it ceased to be worth cultivating. It has however a near relative—of the Cyperus family—which grows in the canals of the Delta, but this does not resemble it in outward appearance, and is of far less stately and striking aspect.

The lotus on the other hand grows abundantly in the Delta. It is its most characteristic water-plant, has large, handsome blossoms, and graceful buds, and an edible

fruit, and was well fitted for an emblem of Northern Egypt. The difference between the lotus and the common water-lily is that the latter has round petals like rose leaves, whereas the petals of the lotus are sharply pointed, and the flower, instead of floating on the water, rises erect a foot or more above its surface. It acquired additional importance, because there were scarcely any other wild flowers in that region, and they were evidently fond of flowers. We laugh at the æsthetes of our own day, but they are by no means a new invention. "We smell lilies," might well have been said of the ancient subjects of the Pharaohs, for they are everlastingly depicted on the monuments, seated on stools at their feasts, and sniffing the lotus. It is no doubt from these tableaux that the name lotus-eaters was given them by Homer, Herodotus, and other Greek writers. We learn from the wall paintings that in ancient times the blue and pink lotus of India grew either spontaneously or as a cultivated plant, as well as the ordinary white variety. The edible portions of all of them are the seeds or beans contained in the cup-shaped seed-pod; they have a nut-like flavour, and can be eaten either raw or boiled, or ground into meal and made into cakes. It is curious that to this day the Japanese regard the lotus as a sacred plant, and offer it to their gods, as the Egyptians did of old.

The lotus which hangs from the gazelle's collar in the panels at the left of the canopy is of the pink kind. This and the blue still exist in Abyssinia, but not in Egypt. This fact adds one more link to the chain of presumptive evidence which points to that country as the cradle of the ancient Egyptian race.

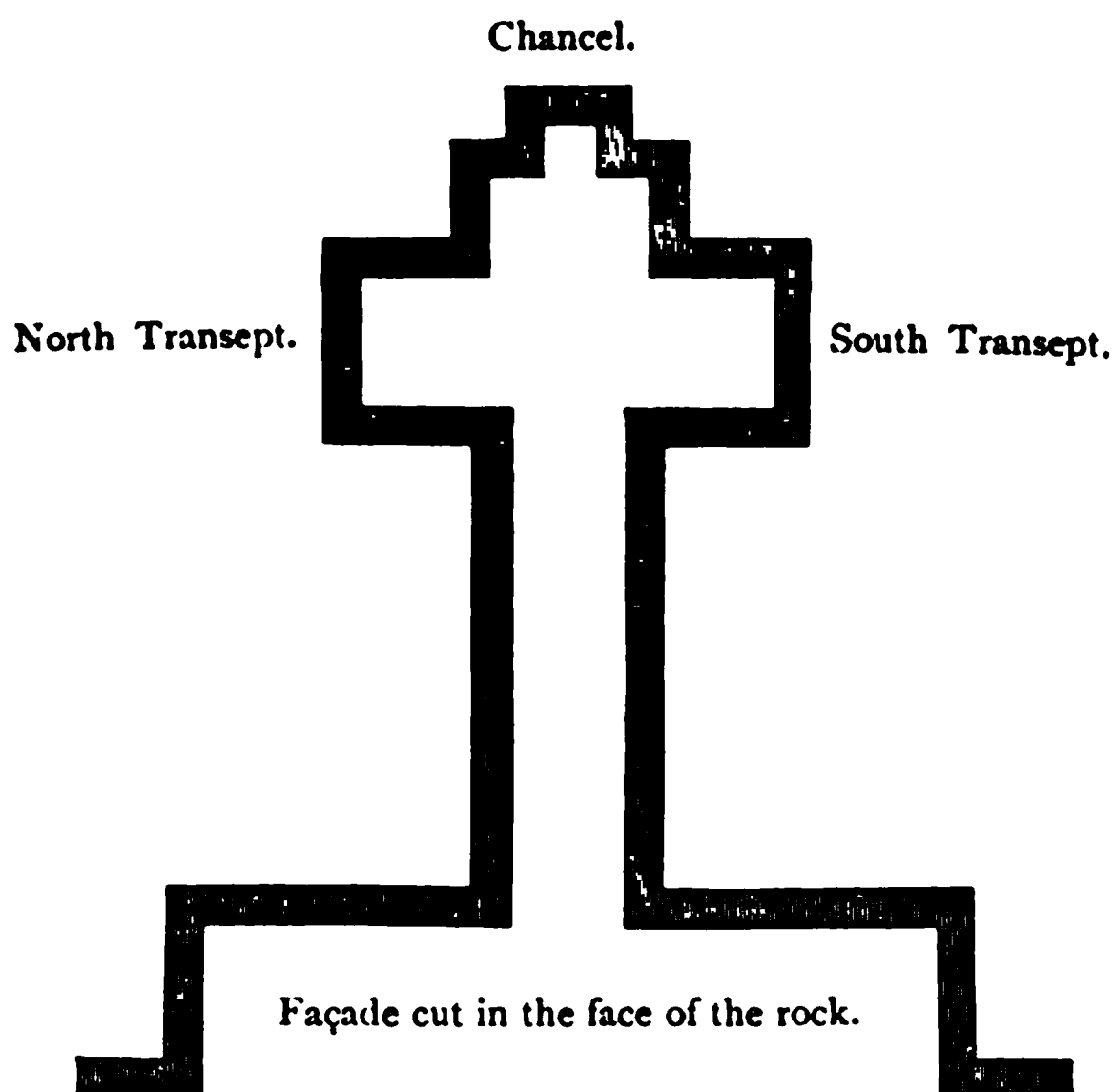
In olden time both the papyrus and the lotus grew in abundance in the artificial lakes which were attached to each great temple, and kept constantly supplied with water all the year round. From being first used as the symbol of Northern Egypt it came ultimately to represent the North generally. Thus the Greek States were designated chiefs of the North, the title being written with a lotus plant, and beneath it the sign for chief thrice repeated. We know that this formula signified the Greeks, because they are so described in the hieroglyphic portion of bilingual inscriptions, and the monogram is translated "the Greeks or Ionians."



The funeral procession consisted of mourners, priests, and attendants carrying articles of furniture, vases, baskets of mummified joints of meat, jars full of corn, olives, fruit, and other provisions, vessels of wine, caskets of jewellery, boxes full of porcelain dolls of mummies which were called Oushebti, "respondents," of which I shall have to say more presently, ornaments and wearing apparel, all for the use of the departed in his eternal home. In the sumptuous royal mausoleums of the nineteenth dynasty, the sarcophagus, instead of being placed at the bottom of a mummy pit, was lodged in a special chamber which was called the golden hall, and in this were deposited all the funeral articles I have enumerated, and many more—whatever in fact had been most valued by the deceased in life.

Among the appendages of the procession were a heifer of marriageable years and also a calf; these were meant as types of renewal of life and of the powers and attributes of the parents in their offspring. Had Is-em-Kheb lived in the previous dynasty, she would have been con-

veyed to one of the Tombs of the Queens, an interesting example of which is presented by that of Queen Taiti. Her tomb is situated at the extremity of a valley, behind the colossal statues of Amunoph the Third, which stand in the centre of the plain of Thebes. Here is a plan of



it. It will be seen that the arrangement is exactly that of our churches—a nave, north and south transepts, and a chancel at the end. Every one of these chambers was covered with paintings, representing the Queen adoring the chief Deities of the Egyptian Pantheon ; and, in so adoring them, she held stretched out towards them a sistrum in either hand. The following inscription is engraved on the lintel and side-posts of the entrance to the north transept :—

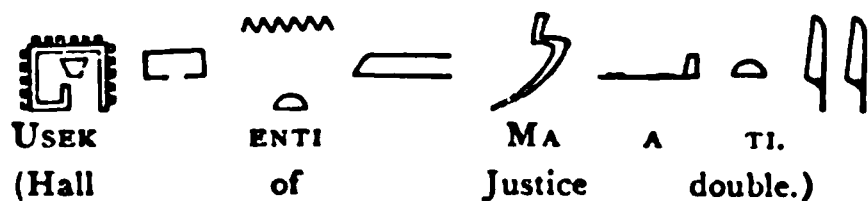
“ Presented as a gratification on the part of the king to the king’s daughter, of his very body begotten, beloved by him, the royal wife, mistress of the North and of the South, Queen of the two lands. Taiti.”



Every inch of the interior is richly painted. The portrait of Taiti herself I have already given in "Nile Gleanings." It is characteristic of Egyptian ideas that the king should have deemed a mausoleum the most acceptable wedding-present he could offer to his daughter!

In the long entrance corridor occur the two wall-paintings of Queen Taiti, figured in "Nile Gleanings," page 244; the one to the right is now nearly obliterated, only a portion of the coronet of arrows remaining, the rest of the tomb when I visited it last winter was still in good condition. Its "Golden Chamber," constituting the left transept, had, however, been plundered long ago, and some of its treasures are now in the British Museum.

The walls of the great royal mausoleums at Bab-el-Melik are covered with scenes and texts from the Ritual of the Dead. These are also found in less profusion in smaller tombs, the changes, migrations, and adventures of the soul after death, the judgment and the resurrection. One finds oneself in the presence of the infernal deities of the Egyptian Pantheon. Plate IX. represents the incidents of the trial and sentence on the soul. The hall in which this takes place is called the Hall of Double Justice, double because it deals punishment on the one hand and reward on the other.



At the end of this dread place sits Osiris, carrying the emblems of sovereignty in his hand, the crozier of supreme government and the flail of punishment; on

his head he wears a royal crown with the ostrich feathers of truth, suspended from his neck is a plate or plaque on which is inscribed the insignia of justice. In front of him may be observed a curious figure of a decapitated animal attached to a pole, which is fixed in a vessel designed to catch the blood which drips from the severed arteries ; this is typical of sacrifice and expiation. Beneath his throne is repeated seven times the formula signifying Lord of life and purity ; in the corner above is an inscription reciting that Osiris is the good being, " Oun nofre," Lord of Life, the Great God, Lord of Eternity, enthroned in Amenti, &c. Before him are ranged the four sepulchral genii who guard the vases containing the vitals of the deceased—Amset, Hapi, Taout-Mutef, and Anubis. Beneath them stands a table of propitiatory offerings which, as a judge, he ought to be above accepting—cakes, joints, fruits, and flowers. Overhead, seated in a long row, are the forty-two assessors, whose grim function it is each to accuse deceased of some special sin ; they have the plume of stern justice on their heads. No wonder the trembling wretch flings himself on his knees before them, and hastens to propitiate them with cakes and flowers. Into this dread presence the disembodied spirit is ushered ; in this instance his name is " Au-ef-Ank," *i.e.*, " He is living," the illustration being taken from the papyrus of an individual of that name, but the same scene occurs in many a papyrus and many a tomb and in some temples, *e.g.* in Deir-el-Medinet at Thebes. Au-ef-Ank is received by Ma, carrying the symbols of life and purity in her hands, and her plume of righteousness on her head. Behind her is a balance in which an attendant has placed the heart of the deceased. The counterpoise in this instance is a statuette of Ma, but

often only is an ostrich feather. Horus draws the cord which raises the scales off the ground, and Anubis adjusts and steadies them. Thoth, the advocate and justifier, pen and tablet in hand, records the result, and Osiris pronounces sentence. The columns of this hall consist of bundles of lotus flowers bound together.

Seated on a sort of console table is a beast of dire aspect, open mouthed and showing its fangs. Its title is written over it, "Death to enemies (of Osiris) at the hand of Amam—chief of Amenti in Amenti." The beast watches Osiris, and woe to Au-ef-Ank should his verdict be adverse. But see! the scales balance evenly, he has gone through the ordeal of the forty-two accusers successfully, and all ends well.

And now Au-ef-Ank reaps the final reward, and is passed on to the Elysian fields, the Aahlu, the Isles of the Blessed. (Plate X.) Here the waters of the ocean, represented by belts of waved lines, are seen to surround the regions of happiness, nor are they without their Nile, their irrigation canal, and their delta (see the right-hand corner at bottom). The three ovals at the left top corner contain the names of three lakes in Aahlu: Lake Kenken, Lake Tent Nent, and "Chief City of the Waters." The three figures ranged side by side are described as the Gods of the two Horizons existing in blessedness in the fields of Kant. Before them is a table of offerings, with the superscription "Offering to the Great God, Lord of Heaven." Horus, indicated by the hawk on the altar, is meant. The disembodied spirit,  $\psi\chi\eta$ , the human-headed bird, is represented as having passed beyond these preliminary ceremonies, and is engaged in receiving a burnt offering of incense to welcome his arrival.



Overhead is written, "The Osiris Au-ef-Ank proclaimed righteous." Next comes a boat laden with good things; this is being paddled by Au-ef-Ank himself. The annexed hieroglyphics read, "The Osiris Au-ef-Ank proclaimed righteous, rows in the boat on the lake or sea of happiness." Next, Au-ef-Ank offers incense and sacrifices to Hathor Khonsou and another deity, while Thoth records the incident and takes note of the details. In the line below, the deceased, here merely designated "Osiris the Righteous," pays similar homage to "Hapi (the Nile), beloved Father of the Gods." Beyond is represented the whole series of agricultural operations; these are carried on for the benefit of our hero by the Ou Shebti, the slaves who were given him, to take with him, in the shape of those dolls of porcelain, wood, or other materials, found in such abundance in Egyptian cemeteries. Their most familiar forms are the blue glazed ones, inscribed with a few characters in black pigment; it was their function to work for the deceased in the Elysian fields. On the right of the series, the land is being ploughed, and it is evidently not the paradise of animals, for the flail is descending upon the flanks of the ox in the old style. Next follows sowing the grain, and here a tree is thrown in for ornament, and to prevent the landscape looking bleak. The husbandmen are represented in the following space reaping the tall dourra, then oxen tread it out under the same gentle persuasion as before, and finally it is gathered in two great granaries. It is to be presumed that no Land League existed in Aahlu to mar Au-ef-Ank's happiness.


The four ovals behind Au-ef-Ank contain the names of four sheets of water: Hotep (Peace), An Mer Out

Her Ennou, Chief Salt Lake, Lord of Waters, Lake of Long Reeds, Lake Ket. Underneath is the following inscription: "Chapter of the river which is 1000 miles in its width, and of which no man can tell the length. There are no fish in it. There are no islands in it. There are no snakes in it."

In the lower panel to the left are five lakes, represented by ovals with the sign of water; the names of three signify Victory, the Conqueror, and Corn, *i.e.* Abundance; the other two I cannot decipher. There is next a boat with steps amidships. The inscription over it states that it is the boat of the sun, Lord of Horizons, navigating to the fields of Aahrenru, the beloved capital (city). Then follows another boat, propelled by six oars, with a throne amidships, described as "the sacred Throne-boat of the Good Being (Osiris);" beyond, at the threshold of the well-irrigated corner, is a little column of hieroglyphs signifying, "Chambers of the waters of Heaven."

The oval at the upper branch of the river contains the words, "The God existing here is Ra." There is a little canal also above, which is "Place of origin or springing forth of the divine ones who exist in the sea of Khut Men Khet."

At the right bottom corner is a throne, and three deities close by. As it might have been embarrassing to decide which of them should occupy the throne, they have, with an amiable desire to avoid contention, agreed to squat on the ground. Over the head of the first is "Seb," over the second "Tefnut," over the third "Shou." Seb was the Earth God. Tefnut was a goddess with the head of a lioness: she was distinguished from Sekhet (see Plate VIII.) by wearing on her head the disk of the Sun with Asp attached; she was daughter

of Ra ; Shou is constantly associated with her. He too was a child of Ra. He represented the light and glory of the rising Sun, as his sister Tefnut did that of the torrid heat of Noon : thence the significance of the Lioness emblem. These and other mythologic forms and names are all varying manifestations of the same Deity. There is a formula of adoration found in several scenes and texts in the royal tombs, which well illustrates the origin of Egyptian Polytheism. It is , Nuter Aa Akhou Kheperou, " Oh great God of *multitudinous manifestations*." The priests themselves, therefore, understood the personifications of their pantheon to be varying aspects of the same great and mysterious Hidden Being whom no man hath seen at any time. The method of development is well illustrated by the relation between Shou, the glory and radiance of the rising Sun, and his parent Ra : the effulgence is an emanation, and therefore is styled the child or offspring of Ra ; so is the lioness-like fierceness of the midday Sun, personified by Tefnut. It is to be observed that, while in the under world, Ra is represented as shorn of his rays, a mere red disk.

I have not seen Is-em-Kheb's funeral papyrus, but no doubt it contained the usual chapters from the Ritual of the Dead, with illuminations of the scenes here given, for these formed the most indispensable portion of every important funeral papyrus.

I have seen the papyrus of another queen of the same dynasty, Hentaoui, wife of Pinotem I. In this she is repeatedly called daughter of Tentamen, who was one of the Ramesside family. This papyrus is beautifully illuminated in colours, and the portrait of Hentaoui is done with great care. She must have been handsome ;


her hair is elaborately braided, like that of Notem, whose mummy I saw at Boulak, with her coiffure quite perfect. Hentaoui is represented as paddling her boat in Paradise on the Sea of Happiness (see Plate XLV.), and as reaping the crops on her celestial demesne with her own hands, and engaging in all the other occupations of a disembodied spirit in the intermediate state. It thus appears that the Egyptians regarded happiness there as consisting in active occupation, and not as a state of mere contemplative existence. She is also represented as taking pleasure in the adoration of the gods, in this respect in harmony with our Christian belief that the adoration of God will be the happiness of the elect hereafter. The papyrus of Is-em-Kheb is in Paris. I have no doubt it is similar to that of Hentaoui, who was her great grandmother.

(See Plate XLII.)



It is easy to discern in the incidents of the judgment hall of Amenti the elements of the Greek and Roman traditions. We recognize in Osiris, Horus, and Thoth, their Minos, Æacus, and Rhadamanthus; the last named is, indeed, literally "The Man of Amenti." In the voyage across the Nile we have Charon and the Styx. In Secket and her sister tormentors we have the Furies. In Serk and Heck-te we have the witches Circe and Hecate. In the savage beast Amam we have Cerberus. In the gloomy corridors of subterranean tombs, with their grim pictures of the sufferings of the damned, we have the infernal regions visited by Orpheus and Æneas. Lastly, in the happy islands of Aahlu we have the Elysian fields and the Islands of the Blessed, which the Greeks and Romans place somewhere in the Western Ocean, as the Egyptians did beyond the regions of the Setting Sun.

Above the inscription occurs an effective ornamental border of spear-head pattern, and skilfully blended hues, and above that again are four bands, blue, red, yellow, and green, three primary colours and one composite. Underneath the panels, the same chess-board pattern, figured on the flap at the end, is continued down to the bottom, where it terminates in a pink border nine inches wide. All the four flaps are six feet nine inches deep, and when the canopy covered the shrine, they curtained its four sides, while the great central panel formed the top.

Having now reviewed in detail the design of the right-hand flap, I shall proceed to explain the emblems which decorate the centre; the most prominent of these are the six vultures. Let us try to understand their place in Egyptian allegory.

It is often asked why the Egyptians chose the vulture as the emblem of maternity; the explanation is a little roundabout. The Goddess Mut was the Universal Mother, wife of the Supreme God Amen; she represented that celestial space out of which all things must have been evolved; she corresponded to the Greek Urania, the sky goddess. They selected the vulture as her emblem because, owing to its enormous spread of wing, it was well qualified to convey the idea of the overshadowing vault of Heaven, spread out and expanded over all creation. The transition to the idea of a protector is obvious, and when the vulture is represented poised over the king in battle, it merely means that Mut is spreading over him the ægis of her protection. Her hieroglyphic name is written thus 

She is figured wearing the double diadem to indicate

her sovereignty over North and South ; she is also decked with the vulture head-dress, emblem of maternity, and she carries appropriately in her hand the emblem of life, the mystic ♀. Her dress is formed by her wings folded, and close-fitting round her body. Her titles are  Neb te pet, Queen of Heaven, and  Hent te nuterou, Lady Ruler of the Gods. A Greek writer says, "when the Egyptians want to write the word 'heaven' or the word 'mother' they draw a vulture."

Let it be understood, then, that the idea conveyed by the vulture is overshadowing, and thence protecting ; and they extended to the human mother the same sign that stood for the universal divine mother—the vulture.

From the above explanation, the significance of the six vultures overshadowing with outstretched wings the shrine of Is-em-Kheb becomes manifest ; they indicate that she is shielded from all spiritual evil by Heavenly and divine favour. It will be observed that the vultures hold in each claw two articles, the one a staff surmounted by an ostrich feather, the other a signet ring. The ostrich feather was the insignia of a chief ; and probably the origin of this emblem of sovereignty dates back to the prehistoric times, when their robes were the skins of beasts, and the distinguishing ornament of their chiefs an ostrich feather—when, in fact, their ancestors were much what the Zulu tribes are now. But as the duty of a chief is to administer justice, the ostrich feather became the emblem of justice as well as sovereignty, and the ornament probably bears this double significance here. The seal is, as I have already pointed out, an emblem of renewal—of ever

renewed life—the deity having power to reimpres the deceased with life as easily as he could repeat the impression of the seal again and again. It is a curious and accidental coincidence that in the Scriptures the seal is also used as an emblem of life in the hands of the Almighty, the just being sealed unto life eternal.

The inscription, repeated twice above each of the vultures, reads as follows :

“Ank Nuter Hon ha ap an Amen Ma-sa-her-ta ma Kherou.”—Life to the chief priest of Amen Masaherta, proclaimed just. It appears from this formula that the Queen’s father had died before her.

The section of the tent to the right of the vultures represents the blue vault of heaven, and the rosettes upon it indicate the flowers scattered in profusion over the pall of the deceased Queen on her way to her last resting-place.

I do not know that much remains to be said of the design of the tent. The scarab which occurs on the first panel, on the right-hand side, I have already explained; the next panel, the ducklings, is a device which I have never before met on any Egyptian monument. We may be sure, however, that like all the rest, they are emblematical. We know what a veneration the Egyptians had for life, and under how many types they pointed to its renewal. A calf and a heifer formed part of their funeral processions, to signify the renewal of the parent’s life in the offspring; for the same reason they worshipped the chick as a manifestation of renewed life, and if a chick, why not a duckling! I think from the analogies I have quoted, and from others, that this is the allegorical meaning of the strange green creatures.

The next panel contains a Gazelle, kneeling upon a bowl; this would read literally—Mistress of the Gazelle, and no doubt surmounting, as it does, the dedication to Is-em-Kheb, it refers to her favourite pet gazelle; that she set great store by it is proved by the fact, that with her, alongside her coffin, was found a mummified gazelle, duly embalmed and bandaged, and enclosed in a wooden case having the form which the animal bore in life; the device comes in very gracefully, right and left of the oval containing her Royal Grandfather's name, Pinotem Mer Amen: they have the effect of heraldic supporters.

The Gazelle appears among the creatures held in the hands of the infant Horus, to signify his triumph over everything noxious; no doubt they were then very numerous, and did so much damage at night to the crops as to amount to a plague; per contra the head of the Gazelle surmounts the staff as the emblem of purity.

The central panel between the two ovals is the only one that remains to be noticed. It contains a bouquet of lotus flowers; these were looked upon with veneration, because the lotus, like the convolvulus (also sacred), was observed to open at sunrise, and close at sunset, an evidence of sympathy with the sun god which won for them a place among religious emblems.

Underneath the ducklings and the scarab at either end, is a hieroglyphic inscription, which runs, "The daughter of the high priest of Amen, superioress of the shrines of Ra, of Isis, Is-em-Kheb, queen of the papyrus and the lotus;" this is nearly identical with the latter portion of the long inscription on the other wing of the canopy, but it omits mention of the shrines



of Horus and Anubis, perhaps for want of space. All the inscriptions are pierced through the green leather, and beneath is a second thickness of pale yellow leather, which throws out the characters in strong relief. Owing to difficulties and defects in the original cutting out of the hieroglyphics, and to subsequent rents and injuries, some of the characters are doubtful and puzzling to decipher. I have received valuable assistance from Dr. Birch in restoring the text and solving difficulties, which I am glad to take this opportunity of acknowledging.

I annex an illustration of the mummy of our heroine ; it is a particularly perfect specimen, enveloped in rose-coloured linen with yellow bandages.

1192  
1111 ?

Observe the ends of the ribbons that cross her breast ; they terminate in seals containing the Queen's name. The interior of the coffin is covered with figures and emblems, prominent among which is the god Osiris, in whose arms she is supposed to be resting.

On the two mummies figured back to back at the bottom of the coffin, the above-mentioned sashes are also represented ; in front of each of them stands the goddess Maut as a vulture, presenting the key of life to the deceased. At the head of the coffin is the winged disk ; under that is an inscription, "Osiris, king of Life, the Great God." The figure of Osiris itself stands between the two sisters Isis and Nephthys ; below that are two figures of Osiris enthroned. The length of the mummy itself is five feet five inches. Allowing for the shrinking during 3000 years of desiccation, Is-em-Kheb must have been rather above the middle height for a woman. Within those cerements, were they opened, we should probably

find the features well preserved, and the hair braided carefully, as on uncovering it I found to be the case with the mummy of Queen Notem, her ancestress of five generations before, and we should see before us the actual features of a contemporary of Solomon !

The annexed Plate, containing a verbatim translation of the concluding portion of the long inscription, serves to illustrate the compactness of hieroglyphic writing. It will be seen that the characters occupy far less space than their phonetic equivalents expressed in English letters, and the latter again, than their literal translation into English words.

The old-world monosyllabic language had, after all, the advantage of brevity over all later and more highly developed systems.

In Plate XL<sup>V</sup>~~IV~~ the hieroglyphics inscribed above the Queen's head signify :—

“ The roll (*i.e.* chapter) of going in the boat.” The line below is her genealogy. “ Queen Hathor Hentaoui, daughter of the royal consort : Tentamen, daughter of— (literally, ‘made by’)—The Sabe (professor), Nebseni.” The mummies of all these personages are at Boulak.

The coronet of asps forms a graceful headdress both in this vignette and in Plate XLII. The draperies are all becoming.

Having now conducted our heroine under cover of her gay canopy of many colours from her palace at Karnac, across the Styx, and through the ordeal of Amenti to the Islands of the Blessed beyond, we will here take leave of her, trusting that our progress has not been devoid of interest and instruction to our readers.

## CHAPTER XXII.

First Anniversary of the Mahal since the War—Changes observable—The Prophet's Cat—His influence on the selection of site for Cairo—Honours paid to his descendants—Interview with the Khedive.

ON January 4 we had an opportunity of witnessing the return of the Holy Carpet from Mecca. A description of this anniversary will be found in Nile Gleanings, Chapter XXXIV., but the circumstances differed in some remarkable respects from that of 1879. Khedive Ismael was then on the throne, and his numerous Hareem lined an entire side of the great square. But Khedive Tewfik, the new ruler, has only one wife, who witnessed the ceremony from the windows of a new pavilion lately built.

The big camel which figured on former occasions had been accidentally shot by an English soldier some weeks before, when the new carpet was sent out to Mecca. Orders had been given to alter the route of the procession to avoid a fanatical quarter of the town and diminish the risk of disturbance; but the camel, accustomed to the old route, refused with true oriental conservatism to adopt the new one. An English soldier who kept the line gave it a poke with his rifle, by way of influencing its decision. Unluckily the weapon went off and shot the poor beast dead—an awful omen in the eyes of the natives.

The guard of honour consisted of English troops, and

when the Earl of Dufferin arrived the band struck up "God save the Queen." We were invited into the pavilion, and had an excellent view of the whole proceedings: the Khedive was seated on a throne in the great hall; next him sat His Excellency the English representative; beyond that, right and left, were the great dignitaries of the Mahometan Church, in splendid apparel of purple and gold embroidery.

The Khedive drove up in an open carriage with four horses and two postilions in crimson and gold liveries. He was received by a brilliant throng of Pashas, Ulemas, and British officers and officials.

The Holy Man who rolls his head all the way to Mecca and back, was as conspicuous as ever in the procession, not less fat and naked and repulsive looking. He was followed by another camel, on which sat a child holding in its arms the descendant of Mahomet's cat.

For the benefit of those who are not familiar with the history of the great Oriental saint, I may explain that the holy man, while one day squatting on his divan compiling the Koran with his prophet's mantle around him, became so absorbed in meditation as to be lost to all impressions of the outer world. Now he had one soft corner in his heart which he shared between Fatima and his tabby cat. During the long hours of his abstraction, an important vicissitude had occurred to the latter. While nestled close to her master's side at the commencement of his reverie, she had been one cat; before the close of it she had become a cat *and four kittens*. When he came to himself and was about to rise to his feet, he found a corner of his mantle occupied by this interesting family.

Now, although to his fellow bipeds his sermons were

fire and sword, he plumed himself on his humanity to quadrupeds. Therefore, rather than disturb the feline matron in her maternal avocations, he snipped off the corner of his robe, and left the quartette in occupation.

When a fanatical tyrant is humane, his humanity is wonderful. The whole Oriental world resounded with the fame of this event. As for the favoured animal on whose behalf the manifestation had occurred, never was a puss promoted to such honour ; the descendants of those kittens became sacred, and, as above mentioned, one of them annually figures in the procession of the Mahal, provided with a camel all to herself. It is a curious fact that the foundation of Cairo may be traced to this incident, for one of the Prophet's most famous Generals, in imitation of his master, refused to disturb a pair of doves that had nested under his tent, and left it standing on the site of Cairo when he struck his camp and departed on one of his proselytizing tours.

On his return it became a question what spot the army should select for head-quarters. The tent, now a dovecote, was still standing, and determined the choice of his officers, and that camp became the nucleus of the future metropolis of Egypt.

The camel which carried the carpet halted in front of the pavilion, and the Khedive advanced and kissed the revered trophy. One personage who had filled a conspicuous place the previous season was now missing : that was Arabi. The year before I had had an excellent view of him as he stood upon the steps, the centre of a brilliant group of uniforms, awaiting the arrival of the Khedive, in whose side he was to become such a terrible thorn : a tall bulky figure surmounted by a face heavy of

expression, and giving the idea of obstinacy and cunning, rather than of ability or intelligence.

On this occasion, several of the usual incidents were missing: there were no Bedouin guards, no Soudan regiments of blacks, and the array of native troops was greatly diminished.

Before leaving Cairo I had the honour of an interview with the Khedive. In the ante-room of the Palace I found several Pashas; one of them spoke French fluently, and I felt sorry when our conversation was interrupted, which it quickly was by the arrival of an official who called out my name and ushered me up the broad handsome staircase. I was met at the door of the reception chamber by the Khedive himself, who shook hands with me and conducted me to a sofa. I was then furnished with a cigarette. I had been informed beforehand that the duration of this thing of vapour was the measure of one's audience, and that the etiquette is to rise and take leave with the last puff.

His Highness was very gracious in manner; he is a handsome man, and I was favourably impressed with his intelligence and good sense. We conversed first in French, subsequently in English. He asked me many questions about the results of my tour of inspection, and other impressions produced upon my mind by it. He appeared to be most anxious to obtain all the information in his power with the view of improving the condition and promoting the welfare and prosperity of his people. He left upon my mind the conviction that he had these objects very earnestly and sincerely at heart. He gave me a detailed account of the difficult and precarious position he was placed in during the continuance of Arabi's power. He himself was reduced by

that personage to a condition of absolute impotence, and even the lives of himself and his family were not safe ; he most emphatically repudiated all responsibility for anything that was done at that crisis, whether in his name or otherwise. With regard to the future he said that he would be happy to give his support to any well-considered scheme of representative government for Egypt as soon as he felt that the people were ripe for it ; but he expressed a very decided opinion that they were not yet ripe for it, a conviction shared by all who have an intimate knowledge of the people. Our interview over, His Highness accompanied me to the head of the staircase and dismissed me with hearty and cordial expressions of good will.

I stated in my report that the Khedive was not unpopular with the agricultural classes of the Delta, and I was glad to see confirmation of this in the manner of his reception during his recent tour of inspection. The spirit and courage which he evinced during the latter stages of the revolt, and subsequently his noble action in visiting the cholera wards, and the resolution he displayed in securing relief for the resulting distress, will always be remembered in his favour. There may be some other circle influenced by motives of self-interest, ill-affected towards His Highness, but if danger is to be apprehended it is not from the rank and file of the rural population.

## CHAPTER XXIII.

Southward Ho !—By rail to Siout—A Greek Beauty—Her Husband's prejudices.—  
His notions of Native Obstinacy—A Peasant Proprietor camping out—His good  
word for Mehemet Ali—Increase in Taxation—Meteia—Poverty of the Villagers  
—Gigantic Sunflowers—Result of Litigation.

ON January 5 we left Cairo by rail to join our Nile boat, the *Eva*, at Siout, and to commence our tour of inspection in the south.

The distance is 250 miles, and the time 10 hours. One is struck by the rich appearance of the country along the line. At this season it is as green as an emerald ; vast quantities of fodder crops are grown, lucerne, clover, lupines, trefoil, and vetches, hosts of cattle, sheep, and other live-stock are seen feeding on these. They are tethered along the edge, and moved forward as the crop is consumed. It impresses one as a veritable land of abundance. All this is due to the Ibrahimieh Canal, which was put into working order by the late Khedive, a redeeming feature of his reign, for which Middle Egypt has good reason to be grateful to him. It accompanies the course of the railway from Assiout as far as El Wasta, about 65 miles from Cairo.

However, as I shall have occasion to refer to this Canal again, I shall add nothing further on the subject at present.

On arriving at Siout, we found a military escort awaiting us, to see us safe on board the *Eva*, a precau-



tion taken by the Governor in consequence of some disturbances which had recently occurred.

There is a small Hotel attached to the station, and we decided on dining here before going on board. The only personages occupying the saloon besides ourselves, were a newly married Greek couple. The bride was an apparition of beauty not to be soon forgotten. She was a native of Smyrna, with raven-black hair; large swimming, lustrous eyes, as dark as night; most perfect and delicately cut features; tall, graceful figure; most musical voice; fascinating manners; and she spoke English with the prettiest of foreign accents. She was the realization of one of Byron's dreams of Greek beauty which I had hitherto considered mythical.

Her husband was an ordinary personage enough, more German than Greek in appearance. How came he by such good fortune as to be united to this pearl of loveliness and of grace? He was characterized by the strongest prejudices. We soon found that he entertained a violent antipathy towards the natives; he said they were "*très méchants*," and as obstinate as pigs, in illustration of which statement, he narrated the following incident of which he had been a witness the day before:—

A postal runner had been waylaid and robbed near a house at night; the owner of this house was not suspected of the robbery, but he was seized and brought before the Mudir, who asked him why he had not gone to assist the postman; he said he had been asleep in his home, and had not heard the cries of the plundered man; the Mudir said he must have heard them, and on his persisting in his statement he ordered him to be beaten on the soles of his feet with the *courbash*; he

received no less than 800 blows, till his feet were reduced to a jelly, and then, as he still refused to confess that he had heard the noise, he was taken home. "You see," said the Greek, "how obstinate these people are!"

I made enquiries subsequently as to the accuracy of this statement, and the main facts were fully confirmed, though there may have been some exaggeration as to the number of blows the poor wretch had received.

Next morning I landed at a hamlet called Wasta, on the opposite side of the river, three miles above Siout, and made my way towards a palm-grove a little way inland. Here I found an old native seated on the shady side of a rudely made straw mat, propped up with sticks. He was smoking a long pipe, and was being attended on by his woman-kind; several little naked mahogany-coloured imps were skipping about in the neighbourhood. Otherwise he appeared to be having rather a good time, he was evidently doing his annual *villeggiatura*, for the mat cannot have been his sole permanent abode. The old gentleman invited me courteously to sit down beside him, and offered me a pipe, which at the word of command one of the women hastened to bring. The tobacco, he told me, was grown by himself. It appeared to me very good. He was evidently a *laudator temporis acti*, and especially sang the praises of the good old times of Mehemet Ali. Now he said he had to pay 120 P. T. land-tax, whereas it was not much more than a third of that in the reign of his favourite hero.

The following anecdotes of Mehemet Ali's time, justify a doubt whether his reign was quite such a golden age as my friend would have us suppose. He it was who first invented the salt monopoly; the peasants there-

upon determined to do without it, and chuckled in their sleeves (if they had any) at their successfully dodging the hateful impost. They were, however, counting without their Pasha. One fine morning boat-loads of salt arrived at each village, together with a despatch for the Sheik, setting forth that it had been found on enquiry that the pile stacked on shore was the average quantity hitherto consumed by the community. That His Highness was so solicitous for the health of his people, that he could not think of allowing them to go without so essential a part of their diet. That he had, therefore, in the plenitude of his beneficence forwarded that quantity in barges. That the Sheiks must pay the value into the hands of the Viceregal collectors immediately, and could reckon at their leisure with the villagers.

All will remember the fate of the 400 rebellious Mamelukes in the citadel of Cairo.

Like master like man. Justice was certainly rough and ready in his days. One of his Mudirs had a complaint made to him by a peasant woman that a soldier had taken a couple of quarts of milk by force, and had drunk it. The Mudir, in clumsy imitation of Solomon, thereupon caused the soldier to be thrown down and ripped open; and as the milk was found in his stomach, he commanded the price of it to be handed to the woman!

The great Pasha must have decimated his people to furnish soldiers for his wars. His military and naval force amounted together to nearly 194,000 men, an enormous levy out of a population of less than 5,000,000. It would be equivalent to a levy of 1,200,000 men out of the population of England.

He it was who confiscated the entire land of Egypt, and declared himself to be its landlord; an extreme measure which even he had not the courage to face out. He withdrew and left his Prime Minister to carry this wholesale measure of spoliation in his absence.

One of his fancies was to establish cotton factories, and men were brought by force to work in them by day and kept locked up all night as prisoners, lest they should escape. The cotton goods thus made did not find a ready sale—they could not compete with Manchester, a significant commentary on the value of slave labour. Mehemet Ali finding his stuffs left on his hands, commanded the shop-keepers of Cairo and Alexandria to purchase them at a fixed rate, and they had to do it and indemnify themselves in other ways.

Mehemet Ali himself was an Albanian Turk, born and bred in the mountains of Albania, the only survivor of ten children. He came to Egypt for the first time as an officer in the army, and made his way up by his restless energy, force of character, and strength of will. Up to his time the Mamelukes were as a snake that had been scotched indeed by the Turks, but not killed. It was Mehemet Ali who finally made an end of them, and reigned in their stead. Never was there a man more thorough and unscrupulous in his policy.

He was a man of middling stature, robust and stout, upright as an arrow, and full of energy. His features were rather of the Tartar cast. He was a wonderfully sparing sleeper. Four hours out of the twenty-four was his allowance. He probably slept with the same energy and thoroughness that characterized all his proceedings, and thus got through a great deal of sleep in a short time. This was very inconvenient to his courtiers who

might occupy the same tent with him, on his campaigns, for they were expected to talk and amuse him, or impart any information they possessed, no matter how tired and sleepy they might be. He was always at work by daybreak, and had got through his correspondence and dictated his despatches before breakfast.

Such was the man himself, uneducated and ignorant, who undertook to reform Egypt, and bring her into harmony with European civilization. By way of preface he swept away all the old order of things, and annihilated all persons and things that stood in the way of his schemes. Even the Sultan himself had a narrow escape. Let us now return to my venerable host, and hear his evidence on his own affairs. He said :

“ I have 4 feddans, half a feddan is planted with palms. I and my neighbours would plant more but for the tax. I have thirty-three palms on half a feddan. I remember the time of Mehemet Ali. I paid 5 paras per tree then, now it is 3 piastres ; every part of the tree is taxed : the leaves, the sticks (midribs), the husks, the fruit ; that is when they are taken to market for sale. The taxes were increased in the time of Ismaïl Pasha, at the beginning of his time. The people in my neighbourhood are much indebted to the Greeks ; they pay more than twice as much to them as to the land-tax. I can remember when there was no debt. It began in the time of Ismaïl Pasha ; the taxes were too much, and they had to borrow. The Moukabala increased the debt. They pay 5 per cent. per month interest.”

Q. Have the people not borrowed to buy new wives ? Is not this the cause of much debt ?—A. (vehemently). “ No ! no ! no ! It is the taxes of Ismaïl Pasha. We

are too poor, we find it too hard to live to think of divorces and marriages and new wives.

"We plant our ground with maize, wheat, and fodder crops (barseem). The maize and the wheat produce from 2 to 4 ardebs." (This is less than in the Delta, where the average produce is 4 to 5 ardebs.)

"I was so persecuted with forced labour that I was obliged to emigrate nine years ago.

"We often grow tobacco here, but are prevented growing it more by the tax. When we plant our land with tobacco we have to pay P. T. 250 per feddan in addition to the land-tax of P. T. 120—P. T. 370 in all."

I may observe that although this witness spoke of debts to European usurers, this is not a general complaint in Upper Egypt. The neighbourhood of Siout probably explains the exception hereabouts.

He said he hoped I would pay him another visit on my way down. He asked me whether I could prescribe for a headache he was suffering from, and explained that it was due to the evil eye he had encountered on the last market-day at Siout. It was from him also that I heard the first complaint of the Salt Tax, a subject upon which I was destined to hear much during the next few weeks.

In taking leave of the old fellow, I presented him with a basket of oranges for the benefit of the mahogany imps already alluded to.

Next day I visited a large village called Meteia, the villagers of which made to me the following statements:

"Our townland contains 4,500 feddans. It pays a land-tax of P. T. 140 per feddan. It has no irrigation canals; in consequence of that we can only raise one crop annually, viz., immediately after the Nile retires.

We grow onions, tobacco, maize (dourra), wheat, and fodder crops; one or other of these, never two in succession. The cereal crops—indeed all the crops—are liable to damage or failure from the khamseen wind. We have to pay taxes all the same. We have printed papers acquainting us with the amount of land-tax, but with reference to others, collectors claim what they like. We have no safeguard against arbitrary exaction; if we do not pay we are beaten or imprisoned. They trade on our ignorance. Formerly matters were worse, for the Moukabala was exacted as well as the land-tax; now Moukabala is abolished, we have not been asked to pay it for the last three years.

“Our cereal crops average from 2 to 4 ardebs. They would be greatly increased by irrigation; each crop would produce much more, and we could grow three times as many crops.

“We are very discontented with the tax on date-palms and sheep. (Here they made the same complaints I have already reported as universal in the Delta). Officials also come round and force us to buy the Government salt; they make us buy 2 okes per month; every one must buy, whether he has the money or not; the poor are often obliged to sell their clothes in order to buy this salt, otherwise they will be beaten or imprisoned, or both. We have to pay P. T. 6 and 10 paras each, yearly. If we grow tobacco we must pay P. T. 250, besides the land-tax, and we have to pay the octroi tax on selling the tobacco as well. We are overwhelmed with taxes, and are very poor. Besides that, we suffer very much from the forced labour; we have to furnish 300 out of a population of 1,200 able-bodied men. The farmers sometimes hire labourers as sub-

stitutes, paying them P. T. 3 per day ( $7\frac{1}{2}d.$ ) for the forced labour. The 300 men are taken away to distant parts of the province now, formerly they were employed on the spot. If 300 men were employed here for our own benefit we could have irrigation canals, and our production would be increased more than four-fold.

“There is a great deal of debt; we cannot tell how much on the whole townland nor on any particular farm, every man keeps it to himself. If we borrow £1 now we must pay £1 10s. at the end of a year, *i.e.* 50 per cent.; but often 5 or 6 per cent. per month of four weeks is charged. The debts are principally owing to rich natives, not to Europeans. The land of fellahs is often sold to pay their debts. When they are insolvent they sell their land voluntarily. They are not forced to sell, because, as these transactions are between natives and natives, they do not come before the Mixed Tribunals. The sale being voluntary, we get the full value of our land. When we sell it we count it here to be worth from £10 to £13 per feddan. (In the Delta it is worth £30 to £50, because of irrigation.)

“We are specially poor this year, and the payment of the land-tax has been a severe hardship, because Arabi took away our horses, sheep, buffaloes, cattle, and wheat; he also took away 150 recruits. He took away even the guards whose duty it is to keep order. Very few of these have returned; they have been killed, or have died. The recruits last sent have returned, because when they reached Cairo they found the war over and the Christians in possession.”

Q. Do you bless the name of Arabi?—A. (general chorus). “We bless those who do us good; how then should we bless Arabi? We know nothing of Arabi.



He did not make us any promise of any kind. We only know that the Mahmours and Mudirs took everything away from us in his name. He did not take away money from us because we had no money to give. When the collectors came to exact the land-tax we had nothing left to sell to pay the tax with. Moreover, as so many men were taken away, our cultivation suffered; we had therefore to borrow to pay the land-tax. There is great poverty and destitution.

“There are no steam-pumps used here; we know of none in this neighbourhood; we do not know what they are. No cotton is grown here.”

I observed a number of sunflowers, nearly 10 feet high, scattered here and there singly about the fields; I inquired:—

Q. What do you grow those for?—A. We do not grow them, they are weeds; they come of themselves. We know no use for them. We never heard of oil from the seeds. We pull them up. Those have remained accidentally.

I found on measurement that the centre of the flowers averaged  $16\frac{1}{2}$  inches in circumference, and was one mass of seeds; at the outside of the petals the circumference was 34 inches. As they flourish with such extraordinary vigour spontaneously, might they not be cultivated as a profitable crop for the oil and for oil-cake?

While inspecting the townland attached to this village, a respectable-looking native came up and told me that the lands I was crossing belonged to him; that they amounted to 500 feddans; that he had been partner in it with another native, who got himself appointed Agent to the (Italian) Consulate; that he had obtained letters of naturalization; that he had claimed the whole

500 acres as his own about four years ago, half as his originally and half as indemnity on various pretences, and had taken advantage of his fictitious nationality to throw the dispute into the Mixed Tribunal Courts; that he had taken possession of all the land and held it ever since. Complainant further stated that he had spent all his substance in fees to his advocate over the entire four years, and that the dispute was no nearer its termination than when it commenced; and as his Europeanized rival enjoyed all the advantages of success, as he had the land and all that it produced, and as he further enjoyed as a *Civis Romanus* the favour of the Court, he had no motive in pressing for a decision, neither had the well-paid advocate. He himself was helpless.

Of course I have only heard one side of the story, but the details, if substantiated, would account for some of the charges brought by the natives against the Mixed Tribunals, as well as serve as an illustration of the way in which natives avail themselves of the Courts. The latter in turn point to the fact of naturalizations by natives in order to take advantage of them, as evidence of their popularity!

The name of Mustapha Abdalla's opponent is Wasf-el-Kaiat, a Consular Agent at Siout.

## CHAPTER XXIV.

Aspect of Upper Egypt—Crops on the Flooded Lands—Deficient Irrigation—Field for the employment of Capital—Inadequate supply of Water-wheels—Invalid Soldiers.

THE evidences of prosperity which had struck me so much in the Delta were not visible in Upper Egypt, either in the dress or the homes of the inhabitants.

Upper Egypt differs entirely in its aspect from the Delta. Instead of the boundless plains of bright green cultivation, dotted all over with villages and palm groves, and intersected by canals, you find yourself in a valley of ever-varying width, bounded right and left by fawn-coloured flat-topped hills, sometimes sufficiently elevated to rank as mountains. They are entirely devoid of vegetation, and form the home of the eagle, the vulture, the jackal and hyæna, and of the gazelle; there abound also in their recesses a ground game of snakes and lizards of various kinds. Between the hill-oases and the river are level plains of the richest verdure, covered with wheat, beans and fodder crops.

Sometimes the Nile runs close along the foot of lofty cliffs on one side—the scenery is then often wild and grand—while on the opposite side, in strong contrast, is a vast extent of cultivated land, bounded by distant hills. Towns and villages occur at much rarer intervals than in the Delta, and, instead of being situated invariably by the water-side, as in the latter, are often some distance inland to avoid the inundation, or

because the river has deserted them and left them high and dry. The shores of the Nile in Upper Egypt have also a very different aspect; they are as a rule not embanked, but either slope down till they dip under water, or if the level is higher, the soil has been cut away by the current, and the banks take the form of miniature cliffs.

In the Delta the river is everywhere confined between embankments, and the greatest calamity that could happen to the inhabitants would be if the inundation were to break in over the crown of the embankment and flood the country, for the whole cotton crop would perish.

In Upper Egypt, on the other hand, the inundation floods the country every season, with the consequence that cotton cannot be cultivated there as a general crop, but only on those exceptional estates and farms which are protected by embankments, or the level of which is high enough to place them out of reach of the inundation; in the latter case they are irrigated by means of wells and water-wheels, or, on the lands of wealthy capitalists, by steam-pumps. What I have said of cotton also applies to sugar-cane, which must equally be protected from the inundation. The only crops which can be grown on the flooded lands are wheat, maize, dourra, beans, lentils, lupines, and fodder crops; some kinds of oil-producing plants, indigo and tobacco. These are sown as fast as the Nile retires, and depend almost entirely on the moisture left in the ground by the flood; one or other of them forms the main crop, and gets not much help from irrigation, but after the main harvest is gathered in, a comparatively small proportion of land is planted with a second

crop, and this depends entirely upon artificial irrigation for its success. These are the patches which travellers see the natives so busily engaged in watering with the shadoof; the land so irrigated forms but a very small proportion of the whole.

The low lands, which are submerged annually, are called Rei; the high level grounds, which depend entirely on artificial irrigation, are termed Sharaki. The former can be embanked; several crops a year can then be grown. As a rule, they are not embanked; and to this is attributable the fact that throughout Upper Egypt practically only one crop each season is produced.

In the Delta, as I have already explained, three crops are commonly grown within twelve months on the same land; the taxes, in consequence of this treble production, may be regarded as comparatively light and easily borne. Here, on the contrary, on many tracts of land only one crop can be grown in the twelvemonth, and even that is scantier than in the Delta. From 4 to 6 ardebs\* of wheat are realized per feddan in the latter, whereas, in the former, often only from 2 to 4. The price obtained is also lower; at all times, therefore, a rate of taxation which is little felt in the one bears very hardly indeed on the other. £1 7s. per feddan is a very heavy rent to pay for land the produce of which only realizes from £2 to £4, or, at most, £5. Then there are the octroi taxes to be added, which are complained of here even more bitterly than in the north. If the taxes are oppressive here in ordinary seasons, they are still more so in the present one, because Upper Egypt suffered from the exactions of Arabi far more than the Delta, which it was, for obvious reasons,

\* An ardeb is about five English bushels.

his policy to spare as much as he could ; added to which I have reason to suspect that the officials took advantage of the crisis, and made use of his name to plunder the people on their own account.

The Government are now making no allowance for these special circumstances, but are exacting the taxes without pity and with much harshness. In consequence of these things, a good deal of poverty and destitution prevails, robberies are heard of, and property and even life are not as safe as in the Delta, nor is the same friendliness and cordiality observable either in town or country ; a discontented spirit exists.

The cause which lies at the root of the difference between the two regions is deficient irrigation ; if that vital essential were supplied on scientific principles, many tracts now only producing one scanty crop per annum would produce two and even three abundant crops, taxes would be easily borne, and poverty and discontent be replaced by prosperity and contentment. This, at first sight, may appear an economic question which it is no part of our duty to deal with, but the political and financial consequences resulting concern us very nearly.

It might be thought, perhaps, that the cultivated land in Upper Egypt is more elevated, and therefore more difficult to irrigate, but that is only the case to a limited extent ; the levels, as compared with the river, are generally quite as favourable. Neither is the soil less fertile ; on the contrary, wherever, by means of a steam-pump, the soil is sufficiently irrigated, it becomes quite a garden, the richness of vegetation being much more striking than in the Delta—the crops of sugar-cane especially,—the plants standing upon the ground as

densely packed together as space admits. I have never seen such thick crops of cane, even in the West Indies, though there the percentage of saccharine matter may be larger and the plants taller. Lastly, the climate is far more favourable for sugar, cotton, tobacco, indigo, maize, and oil-producing plants than that of the Delta. If in the Saïd there were a canal system as perfect as in the Delta, it would far exceed it in richness of vegetation and in wealth-producing power. There is a grand field here for the outlay of capital. The present production does not exceed £5 per acre, owing to defective irrigation, and to nothing else. It might be raised £10 to £15 and £20 per acre.

These remarks apply to the entire country between Siout and Thebes. Two million feddans of cultivated lands exist between Cairo and Assouan, exclusive of the region of the Fayoom. An increase of £10 per acre on the producing power of this—*i.e.*, its development to the same rate of productiveness as the Delta—would mean the addition of £20,000,000 per annum to the resources of the country; and the result is undoubtedly within reach by a judicious outlay of capital combined with the scientific application of cheap labour, which the Government already have at their command.

There is no greater obstacle to successful irrigation here than in the Delta. Canals exist, but many have been allowed to silt up. They all want deepening, and they ought to be connected together on a scientific system.

If a high-level canal could be obtained in Upper Egypt, like the Ibrahimieh in Middle Egypt, by tapping the Nile above or near the Cataract, Upper Egypt could be as thoroughly and cheaply irrigated as the Delta.

Failing this, existing canals should be considerably deepened and linked together.

Much might be done with steam-pumps, which are here independent of coal, as the furnaces are fed entirely with straw of maize, dourra, and sugar-cane. I have seen 120-horse-power engines thus fed. Much might even be done with water-wheels, if money could be advanced to the natives to construct them with. They are too poor now to construct them without aid, having been exhausted by over-taxation. Shadoofs are quite inadequate for purposes of general irrigation; they only suffice for limited patches, just as with us a garden may be watered by manual labour, but not an entire farm. It requires six men at least, toiling from sunrise to sunset without intermission, except for meals, to irrigate two acres of barley, or one acre of cotton or cane; but as the population of Egypt does not furnish one able-bodied man for every three acres of cultivated land, it is manifest that the general irrigation of the country could never be carried on by shadoofs.

It could, however, be carried on by water-wheels, because one water-wheel, worked by two or three pairs of bullocks, can irrigate four acres of cane, five or six acres of cotton, or thirteen acres of cereal crops. To do this they must be kept going day and night. Only two attendants are required to drive the cattle, but for that purpose boys suffice; it does not even require able-bodied men.

An important advantage of the water-wheel is that it can be worked at long distances from the Nile by sinking wells below the Nile level. A perpetual supply of water exists far inland at that depth, because the soil is porous.



The reason why there is in Upper Egypt such an inadequate supply of water-wheels is the poverty of the people, from constant exactions and oppression in the past. It costs £30 to set up one water-wheel; they cannot generally command this sum, and they can only borrow it at ruinous interest. This fact, together with the insufficient depth and absence of system in the canals, accounts for the productiveness of Upper Egypt falling so far short of what it ought to be. The shallowness of the canals is partly due to the fact that the late Khedive diverted to his sugar estates and to other purposes the forced labour that ought to have been applied to keep them clean; at least, so the natives assert. On the other hand, it must be remembered that his reign was signalised by the restoration of the Ibrahimieh Canal in Middle Egypt, a work which has conferred vast benefit upon that district. He also deepened some other canals.

In the course of the day we met with a steamer full of invalid soldiers, a miscellaneous lot, to which all the English regiments in Egypt had contributed. They were in charge of a couple of doctors and officers, and as they were arrayed in hospital dress, and were all looking more or less seedy, having just recovered from fever, they were not calculated to impress the natives with a sense of our military prowess. It is much to be regretted that two or three regiments were not sent to Upper Egypt to form a camp and to be reviewed at Siout and Kenah, and one or two other large towns. As it is, the natives of Upper Egypt have seen nothing of our army, and do not believe in its irresistible power as the people of the Delta do. The moral effect of one or two military reviews would have been excellent, and the

health of the troops would have been benefited. The invalids were landed at a large village, and wandered about, not knowing very well what to do with themselves. They stared at the mud hovels, and confided to me that they had a very low opinion of the country, as they could not get even a glass of beer there! The officers amused themselves by shooting pigeons, and kept up a withering fire upon the dovecotes round which the poor birds were wheeling and circling, not knowing what to make of the unaccustomed noise; and it was some time before they took the hint and went off with numbers much thinned. Meanwhile the gallant sons of Mars had made a fine bag, and the natives were impressed with the terrors of the British arms.

## CHAPTER XXV.

Abouteg—Visit to the Cathedral—The Coptic Bishop—Disabilities of the Copts—Ancient Tombs at Gow-el-Kehir—Tahtah—Souhag—Statement of a Notable—Invalid Soldiers—Complaints of the Fellaheen—Girgeh—Oriental Patience—Coptic Christians.

THE next day I landed at a town called Abouteg. It contains a large proportion of Coptic Christians, and, being Sunday, I went to their Cathedral. It is a building of no great pretensions. The exterior is smothered in houses, and one can get no idea of its form. The interior is all domes and apses, pictures of St. George and the Dragon, and woodwork screens. In all Coptic Churches the altar is partitioned off, and the screens employed for that purpose are often of great antiquity and very curious, ivory and ebony entering into their composition.

I made the acquaintance of the Bishop and his clergy, by whom he was treated with great deference. He was a fine-looking man of prepossessing appearance, and in the prime of life. He showed me a beautifully illuminated Missal of early date. After we had gone over the Cathedral, we adjourned to a court, three sides of which were furnished with stone benches. It was open on the fourth, which was occupied by an acacia tree.

We sat here for some time, conversing on various matters connected with the recent rebellion and the present condition of Egypt. They complained of the disabilities under which the Copts suffered; they are

excluded from all the higher offices, and are only employed in very subordinate capacities. They are liable to the conscription, and contribute their full proportion to the army, but they are precluded from promotion—they cannot even rise to the rank of non-commissioned officers; yet they are all well educated, and constitute the most industrious and enterprising class of the community. They are very numerous in Upper Egypt; in some towns one fourth of the population consists of them. They are pure blood Egyptians of the old stock, intermarrying amongst themselves, and having avoided intermixture with Mahometans from the time of the Arab invasion till now. If their features be compared with those in the ancient bas-reliefs, identity of race will immediately suggest itself. There are about 250,000 of them in Upper Egypt, and 50,000 in the Delta. An inspection of their churches and the method of decoration reminds one of the Russian ecclesiastical forms, and as a matter of fact they are in communion with the Greek Church. They wear black or blue turbans: these distinguish them from the Mahometans, who wear white, red, yellow, or green; these last if they claim to be descendants of the Prophet (Sherifs) or have made the pilgrimage to Mecca: in the latter case they are called Hadji.

Some of the trades are chiefly in Coptic hands, such as watchmaking; many tailors and weavers belong to this persuasion. All the Copts with whom I conversed assured me that they were in imminent danger of being massacred during the rebellion. It was with great difficulty they were saved. If they ventured out, they had to disguise themselves; if recognized, they were attacked by the mob and insulted. In some of

the towns the Mahometan governors informed me that they had to shut up the Copts in prison and in walled buildings to save their lives—even then they could not rely on the guards—and that if the victory of Tel-el-Kebir had been delayed a few days, one of the most bloody massacres on record would have ensued. It need scarcely be said that the Copts are favourable to the English, whom they justly regard as their preservers ; and it would be wise policy to cultivate their goodwill, and to strengthen their position by redressing their grievances and removing their disabilities. There cannot be a more conclusive proof that the late insurrection was not an affair of race, but of fanaticism aggravated by their relations with Christians as money lenders. Had the motive power been the idea of Egypt for the Egyptians, they would not have threatened death to the most pure-bred Egyptians of all—the Copts. In truth, it was not a national, but a sectarian and military movement, set in motion by Arabi for his own purposes.

There is the same smouldering antagonism between Copts and Mahometans here that there is in Ireland between Orangemen and Roman Catholics. This feeling has been aggravated by recent events, and the Mahometan clergy are even now fomenting ill-will towards them and all Christians. And they are still propagating in Upper Egypt against the English the old falsehoods about their designs on their religion, their women, and their property ; telling them that the English are coming “to leave their slippers outside the doors of their women’s chambers.”

Next day we passed the palm-groves and pigeon towers of Raaineh, and subsequently Gow-el-Kebir, at which the cliffs approach close to the river. In them

are some of the most ancient tombs in Egypt, which I shall have an opportunity of describing on our return voyage. We anchored for the night at Tahtah, a large town on the west bank of the river, containing 3,000 inhabitants and several mosques. The land about here is low, and the water of the inundation lingers upon it very late, with the result that there is an extra deep deposit, and the wheat crop is exuberant accordingly. Next day we landed at Souhag, the capital of the province of Girgeh. The towns of Upper Egypt do not differ much from those of the Delta, except that they are oftener perched on mounds formed of the *débris* of previous generations of houses. They are also often at some distance from the river, as already observed. The male portion of the population live so much out of doors, that the narrow streets are always full of life. I made the acquaintance here of a Notable, who communicated the following statement.

“I own 200 feddans of land. I pay from P. T. 120 to P. T. 135 land-tax on it, according to quality. It produces only one crop in the year, viz., immediately after the inundation retires; when that crop is harvested, the land remains idle till the following inundation is over. The produce varies very much: as little as one ardeb per feddan is sometimes produced when there has not been water enough, and as much as five and even six ardebs when water has been abundant.

“There are farms not very far from mine which are sometimes missed by the inundation altogether in unfavourable years; of course then they produce nothing at all; in such an event their land-tax is not enforced. One crop a-year is the rule in this province and mostly

throughout Upper Egypt, but there are lands embanked and favourably situated for irrigation where three crops are grown within the twelve months; three crops could be grown everywhere if we had water; cotton also could be raised in that case.

“It would be possible to supply water generally throughout Upper Egypt for irrigation, by deepening the existing canals and by connecting them together. Now there are missing links in the chain, so that they do not communicate with each other; if they were sufficiently deepened and connected, all Upper Egypt could be irrigated and produce three crops.”

Q. Would you approve of tapping the Nile above the Cataract, and by that means obtaining a high-level canal to feed existing canals from?—A. If that could be done, enormous benefit would result. There is a main canal now which begins at Esneh, but it is not deep enough, and the connections are very defective.

Q. Is the land-tax complained of?—A. Sometimes it is hard to pay it. This year especially so, because of Arabi's exactions. He took away everything—horses, camels, buffaloes, corn, even butter, still the land-tax has been paid. They borrowed from the rich fellahs in order to meet the tax-gatherer's demands.

Q. At what rate of interest?—A. That is not the way here; they assigned their crops to the lenders at a discount. If the crop should turn out worth 100, they agreed to receive 80. This is another way of obtaining twenty per cent. for four months' use of the money, viz., from seed-time to harvest, equivalent, therefore, to sixty per cent. per annum.

“There is no permanent debt here because there are no Jews or Greeks. In this province an allowance was

made on account of the things taken by Arabi, but not in all.

“There is an improvement of late years in the collection of taxes; they are more honestly and fairly collected. I attribute this to the present Khedive. He is better than Arabi. Arabi would have ruined the country if the English had not come. Now the English are the governors of Egypt.”

I observed that we had no intention of remaining. If the English govern well, he said, why should they not remain? (N.B.—The same remark was made to me more than once in the Delta as well as here.)

“We do not concern ourselves much about who governs, provided we are governed well.

“The Government have a monopoly of the sale of salt, and they farm it out to contractors, but there are places in the desert where the people can procure salt for themselves for nothing; besides that, the Bedouins bring it in secretly and sell it very cheap. The contractors, therefore, force the people to buy the Government salt; the amount they force upon them varies in different districts according to the contractors (consciences?) It is very hard on the poor, they complain very much of it. The rich buy the monopoly salt voluntarily.”

(*Note*.—Another informant told me that the poor men were forced by the officials to buy 18 lbs. per annum for every member of their family, even for babies at the breast!)

While we were at Souhag, another steamer full of invalid soldiers arrived, on its way back from Thebes. We invited the officers on board the *Eva*, and a very nice set of fellows they were. They informed us that their men had derived great benefit from the river trip;



they attributed the good results principally to their not being able to get any drink. In a climate such as that of Egypt, alcohol is very deleterious in any form, but especially in the adulterated condition in which our men get it from the Greek drinking shops. The entire ship's company assembled on the bank to see us off, and just as the *Eva* shook out her great white wings up came the mail steamer. There was a fine breeze blowing and an exciting race ensued, and, amid the cheers of the British army on shore, we succeeded in passing our rival.

Next morning I observed near the river a group of Fellaheen threshing out corn; we landed and entered into conversation with a native who was superintending the operation. The latter wore a white turban, the others skull-caps of felt and loin cloths—nothing else, just such figures as may be seen in the bas-reliefs of the pyramid period; they were armed with long sticks, with which they were beating out dourra. They kept time, bringing their sticks down simultaneously to the tune of a monotonous chant. The overseer turned out to be the proprietor, and on asking him of his welfare and the prospects of his farm, he grumbled as scientifically as any British agriculturist, and with as much satisfaction to himself. “*Hic mos omnibus!*” The Government neglected their duty, they did not clean the canals, they did not keep them deep enough, so that they ran dry, and there was no irrigation; the taxation was shameful, they could not keep sheep because of the sheep-tax, they could not grow palm trees because of the date-tax, they were forced to buy Government salt whether they wanted it or not, and they had to pay for so many pounds per head for each member of their families,

young and old; they had to pay 6 P. T. and 10 paras per head (about 1s. 3d.). All these taxes had to be paid in cash—there was the rub—they had no cash (I must say none of the party looked like it), they had consequently to mortgage their crops at a heavy discount to get it. He cultivated five acres and had to pay 700 P. T. land-tax; he did not own the land, he rented it. He had to pay 50 P. T. more per acre as rent, besides one third of the crop. He only got one crop in the year from it. I here called his attention to a thin crop of young vetches which was showing itself amongst the stubble—that, he said, was sown at the same time as the dourra, and had to take its chance. After the dourra was off they gave it the best watering they could by means of the shadoof. But the canal was running dry and the Nile was too low; the lower it got, the more hands it required to raise the water, and a point was reached at last when it did not pay.

If they had water-wheels they could irrigate merrily, but how could they afford one! The taxes took all their money. They obtained from 3 to 5 ardebs, *i.e.* from 15 to 25 bushels per acre of wheat. If the crop was wheat, it was worth 90 P. T., about 18s. 6d. per ardeb. The value per acre would be therefore £2 15s. 6d. to £4 12s. 6d. Dourra was worth much less, but it bore drought better, and the vetches which followed helped to make up the difference.

Sometimes he got as much as 6 ardebs when there was an extra high Nile. This season there had been a low Nile, it scarcely covered their land. They had had to depend on their shadoofs; if they had water-wheels they could get two, or even three crops a year—the latter if the land were embanked. He pointed out the

much abused canal in the rear of his farm, and I went to inspect it. It was nearly dry, though only three months had elapsed since the inundation. If it were deepened the water would not fail.

When the vetches were fit to cut he would carry it in bundles for sale at Ekmin (a town three miles off); but he would have to find cash again to pay the octroi duty on taking it into the town. These duties were capriciously exacted; if the collectors demanded too much he had no remedy. He was too poor to get redress. Justice could only be obtained for money. There was none there for a poor man who could not afford to make presents.

Such was the evidence of a petty cultivator, living on a small holding, and it was very instructive. One is at once struck by the iniquity of demanding 140 P. T. per acre land-tax from land producing only one crop, worth less than £5, while 165 P. T. is the highest rate in the Delta, where the land produces three crops, worth £12 to £15, and occasionally £20. This poor native's statement also gave a very clear explanation of the cause of the poverty which prevails in Upper Egypt, viz., defective irrigation, partly due to imperfect canals, partly to want of capital on the part of the cultivators, caused by exhaustion from over-taxation.

Later in the day we reached Girgeh, a large and important town. It is said to contain no less than 8000 Copts. Its name is evidently of Coptic origin, for it is the name of their patron saint, George, Girgis being the native equivalent for that proper name so dear to our own Richard of the Lion-heart. On approaching the town we found the entrance blocked by villagers going to market, or rather awaiting their turn to pay duty on their various goods—

turkeys, fowls, eggs, bundles of fodder, bags of lentils, or tobacco, &c., &c. ; there they sat, waiting with truly Oriental patience. A bundle of fodder may be worth a couple of piastres ; the peasant in charge of it had probably been there since daybreak ; there he was detained to pay tax upon it, and his whole day would be wasted. Meanwhile, beneath the hot sun and the parching climate it was rapidly deteriorating ; the outside would soon be well-saved hay. When finally his turn came to pay the octroi the collector would levy quite as much for his own benefit as for the Government. One hears of ambitious schemes for wholesale reforms and the introduction of new codes, but nothing of the redress of these small grievances, which so nearly touch the everyday life of the people, and help to keep them poor. We took the opportunity of buying five turkeys for 1s. 8d. apiece ; we conducted this transaction ourselves, to the indignation of our dragoman, who declared that we had been shamefully imposed upon !

On our way through the bazaar we entered an inn, the proprietor of which showed us over it. I have already described one of these establishments in the Delta, and that description applies exactly to the one we were now visiting ; merchants from various parts of the country were in the habit of assembling in the courtyard. He had therefore good opportunities for informing himself as to the views and opinions of the natives. He said they were thankful to the English for coming to their rescue ; that had the career of Arabi lasted a little longer the country would have been ruined. As it was, there was much distress and want, owing partly to his exactions, partly to a low Nile. I ascended to the platform which constituted the roof of his house ; from here we commanded

a view of the extensive cultivated plain which surrounds Girgeh. He told me that throughout that plain, with very few exceptions, they obtained only one crop per annum; that the land-tax was from P. T. 100 to P. T. 140, and that it was universally complained of as too high. If they could grow two or three crops a-year they could easily pay the tax; but they could only do that if they had a proper system of irrigation. They were too poor to regulate their irrigation for themselves, and "there was no Government to do it for them."

There were some Coptic merchants in the court below, who stated that, had the rebellion gone on a fortnight longer, there would have been a massacre of the Coptic Christians. Wherever Christians are numerous, Mahomedans are fanatical.

## CHAPTER XXVI.

El Samata—Grievances of the Villagers—Impolicy of the Date-tree Tax—Forced Labour—Dishonesty of the Official Classes—Kasr-es-Syad—The Esné Canal—An Oil Factory—The Conscription.

ABOUT ten miles higher up the river next day, I landed at a village called El Samata ; it is near the town of Ballianeh, the starting point for the temple of Abydus.

Many of these Upper Egypt villages are surrounded by a low wall. The houses are little better than hovels, built of mud one story high and with flat roofs, covered with bundles of straw—the happy hunting ground of cocks and hens ; the drying yard also, in which the ladies of the family hang out the linen, and indulge in gossip with their acquaintances on neighbouring roofs. Occasionally a goat or a sheep may be seen on these elevated plateaux, nibbling the straw and sometimes the linen. Such was no doubt the exercising ground of the ewe lamb, mentioned in the parable of Nathan, the prophet. Cats abound there, safe from the lean and hungry curs below, but otherwise leading a troubled existence, and not enjoying that supremacy which their cousins do on a London roof. A marked difference was observable in the disposition of the people in Upper Egypt : as already explained, it was impossible to pass through a town or village in the Delta without being pressed to enter the principal houses and to par-

take of their hospitality, but here such invitations were rare. Partly perhaps because their houses were too poor to be proud of; but still more from an absence of that goodwill which struck us so much in the Delta.

The people of El Samata soon gathered round us, and were ready enough to give information, and to air their grievances. They said :—

“ Most of us rent our land from a large proprietor. We pay P. T. 240 rent per feddan. The owner pays the land-tax, which is from P. T. 130 to P. T. 150. We grow dourra, wheat, and barley, produce from 3 to 5 ardebs. The rent and other taxes take away all our produce, and we live only by following up the main crop by cultivating small patches with much labour by means of shadoofs; we are consequently very poor. The salt tax bears very hardly on us; one villager, Salim Abn Tourki, has seven in family besides himself, and he has to pay P. T. 6 and 10 paras on each member of his family. He is forced to pay for 6 okes (18 lbs.) of salt for each, though the youngest is only that high (placing his hand a cubit from the ground), *i.e.*, about 52 piastres for salt, whether he takes it or not.

“ The palm tax is also a great hardship, because we have to pay on the young trees long before they bear fruit—five or six years. The consequence of that is that when the collectors come and we have not money to pay for the unfruitful trees we cut them down, and the number of palm trees is greatly diminished in consequence.

“ A fruitful tree is worth to us about P. T. 19 per year, but if there are many unfruitful ones the profit is swallowed up. All the young ones are unfruitful, and we have to pay tax on every tree whether it is fruitful or not.”

(N.B.—The tax prevents these poor people from eking out their means and their food supply by date crops to the extent they otherwise would. This much-detested impost is the more mischievous in Upper Egypt, because the date palm can get on without irrigation, its long roots penetrating down to the low Nile level, the stratum where the water supply is perpetual; they are thus prevented from taking full advantage of the only crop capable of overcoming the obstacle which deficient irrigation opposes to turning their land to account during the dry season.

The date-tree tax in any form is impolitic, but if it must be continued it ought to be collected at the season when the clusters of fruit are on the tree, and none except those actually carrying fruit ought to be required to pay duty.

- Another resource which these poor people living habitually on the verge of destitution would have is the keeping of sheep. These enable them to turn the straw of their crops to account, and to take advantage of the coarse grasses that grow here and there along the river and in waste places; but here again they are met by the sheep-tax, so much complained of in the Delta, but doubly impolitic and a much greater hardship in Upper Egypt. They made the usual complaints, and added, besides, that they were made to pay the same tax on new-born lambs and kids as on full-grown sheep and goats. Some of the men were spinning the dark brown wool as they walked along with me. Pointing to it they said, "We shall have to pay duty on this, too, when we take it to market for sale.")

"We grow patches of sugar-cane sometimes; it is a very valuable crop; worth more than P. T. 2,000 per



feddan ; we sell it green, in sticks, for eating. We sell it in the towns mostly, but we can only grow it on a very small scale, in small patches, because it requires too much water for the shadoof to supply ; we have to water it sixteen or twenty times in one season.

We suffered very much this year by the revolution. Arabi took all we had ; we had not much, but he took one-fourth part of our men ; they were carried off from their farms and their families ; the women were all crying. He enlisted even the village guards (policemen), whose duty it is to keep order ; here is one who has returned " (pointing to a middle-aged man with a long stick). This Ulysses of the community said, " I was taken late ; the war was nearly over. I was still in Cairo when the English entered. I saw the black soldiers (the Indian troops) ; we rejoiced when the English came and set us free. I was glad to be out of it and come back." The villagers continued :—

" We suffer also from the forced labour ; no consideration is shown ; half our able-bodied men are taken away at the busiest time, when we want to thresh our crops. No excuse is permitted ; even if a man's father is lying dead in his house, he must go. We are not set to work here in our own neighbourhood ; we are sent to distant parts of the Moudirieh, twenty-four hours' march off. Our own canals are already dry for want of being deepened." They took me across country to two canals, which I inspected. One of them was already dry, only fourteen weeks after the inundation ; the other still contained water in pools here and there, which the natives were scooping up by means of the shadoof. These water-holes would be exhausted in a few days ; along

these canals, therefore, the petty cultivation of patches by means of the shadoof must cease immediately.

After taking leave of these good people I crossed the river to visit an estate belonging to a wealthy Pasha. My chief object was to inspect and see in action a large steam pumping-engine, the tall chimney of which had attracted my attention. The manager was rather reserved, he was a strict Mussulman of Turkish sympathies; as became the servant of a Turkish master, he had wished Arabi success. I obtained from him the following information:

"This estate contains 1,000 acres. The steam-pump irrigates 100 acres only, viz., the portion planted with sugar-cane. It is not powerful enough to water more; if it could irrigate the whole, we should have two or three crops annually; as it is, 900 feddans are watered only by the inundation, and yield consequently but one crop. Sugar-cane requires much water, more than any other crop except rice, but it is very profitable; a feddan produces 30 kantars of raw sugar (about 2,900 lbs.), worth about 16s. per kantar, *i.e.*, 30 Napoleons per feddan (£24). We calculate the expenses of cultivation, including steam-pump, at £12 per feddan; it would be much more if we burnt coal, but we use none; we feed the furnace with straw of sugar-cane, and we use dourra-straw besides. My employer would get more pumps if he could afford it, and irrigate more land, but he has not capital enough.

"This year we had a low Nile, and people are badly off; but there is no crime in this district, nor any danger to life or property; there was lately, but things are settling down. Arabi took away a great deal—cattle, corn, and men. We were all very glad when the revo-

lution was ended. Many, however, wished him success, because they were told it was a holy war for their religion. I did so myself; I thought it my duty to do so as a good Mussulman when I understood we were to fight for our religion.

"There has been much talk lately of irrigating the Saïd (Upper Egypt) by cutting a canal from Assouan, but they would have to cut through the mountains; that is the difficulty." (I suggested to him a plan that had occurred to me of tapping the Nile above the Cataract, conveying the water in cast-iron tubes of large bore to the terminal point of the Nubian hills, and thus obtaining a high-level canal from which the existing canals could be fed all the year round. If the engineers after survey reported this plan practicable it would solve the problem in the cheapest and best manner; the Government have at command forced labour enough to execute the necessary excavations.

There seems no doubt that the ancient Egyptians kept the canals in Upper Egypt full; this accounts for the much larger population in the time of the Pharaohs.

The manager stated that when the pumping-engine was not engaged in irrigation it was used for crushing the canes for the sugar factory.)

During this portion of my tour I happened to be witness of an incident which is highly instructive, and serves as a typical instance of the behaviour of the subordinate officials towards the rank and file of the people.

As I passed, a gang of men in chains, probably for non-payment of taxes, were drawn up in front of the Post Office. One of these presented a docket to the postmaster. He said, roughly, "You have had your letter." At the same time he tore up the docket and

threw it out of the window. I took up the torn pieces and found that they were a warrant for the delivery of a registered letter. I asked the post-master how it came that if the man had received his letter he had been allowed to retain the voucher.

The postmaster, seeing that I was disposed not to let the matter drop, now changed his tone, and said to the claimant, "If you will get two respectable townspeople to certify your identity, you shall have your letter." It appeared, therefore, that his first assertion that the man had received his letter was a positive falsehood.

This incident furnishes one more illustration of how corrupt and dishonest the official classes are, from the highest to the lowest.

Honest administration cannot be brought about in Egypt except under the direct personal supervision of trustworthy Europeans.

Nor can the peasant proprietors, who form the great bulk and the most important element of the population, be otherwise protected from the misgovernment and petty tyranny from which they now suffer.

The advocates for non-intervention are therefore champions of the predatory class in Egypt, and of tyranny, oppression, and misgovernment by the few over the many.

Those who clamour that the Egyptians should be let alone to govern themselves, should remember that there are two very distinct classes in Egypt, the predatory class and their victims:—the former consist of the comparatively small minority of officials, the bureaucracy, from the great Pashas down to the smallest village post-master or tax collector: the latter are the millions, the main bulk of the population, for whom the country

ought to exist, and on whom its wealth and prosperity depend.

Nothing further of interest occurred till passing Far-shoot we reached Kasr-es-Syad, the modern representative of an ancient Egyptian town, which was formerly famous for its geese, as it now is for its turkeys. We landed under a high embankment close to a large stone building with a factory chimney. This proved to be a pumping station, with a 120-horse-power engine then actually at work. The results of its exertions were immediately evident, for behind the embankment the land was a perfect garden. A native undertook to guide us to the town, and our way lay through dense thickets of sugar-cane, 8 feet high, besides crops of cotton, tobacco, castor-oil plants, and other tropical produce.

We were much pleased with these tokens of prosperity, and began to think the people of the district fortunate indeed to live in such an Eden ; but, alas ! appearances were deceitful. Not for them were all these riches—not for themselves were those half-naked figures in skull-caps and ragged loin-cloths toiling. In reply to questions our guides informed us that the embanked land, and the irrigation works, and all the splendid vegetation belonged to a wealthy Turk—Ahmed Pasha. His estate in the district amounted to 16,000 acres ; the 120-horse-power steam-pump irrigates 800 feddans of sugar-cane annually. The furnaces are heated with cane-straw grown on the estate, and with dourra-straw purchased in the district. The portion of the estate not under sugar is not irrigated at all, except by some Sakiyehs. When these are used two crops can be grown, elsewhere only one. They said Arabi took away much by force, beating with the hippopotamus whip those who refused to give voluntarily.

He took away horses, and those who had no horses to give were fined P. T. 50; some were imprisoned. "There are 606 able-bodied men in this townland; of these he took 65 recruits. Some of them have been killed; others have returned. Our strength is further exhausted by forced labour. They levy this year 300 men for forced labour, *i. e.*, 50 per cent. of our able-bodied population. Some of them are sent to work in the quarries to cut stones for canal works; some of them to work on canals and embankments. They are taking them now in the busy time, when we want to thresh our dourra and to work our shadoofs; they are taken for three months, one in winter and two in summer. They have levied more than usual this year to make the Esné Canal (Esné is above Thebes, upwards of 100 miles away). They get no pay while they are at work, unless they are substitutes paid by the farmer; they also get no food, but their friends at home send them food.

"The Esné Canal is useful for Upper Egypt. The time for which the men are kept is not fixed; they are given task work: when their allotted task is finished they may go, but they cannot get off with less than 3 months. We are also forced to work on the sugar estates, but we get P. T.  $1\frac{1}{2}$  per day while engaged."

I may observe that the Esné Canal is on the opposite side of the Nile, and cannot therefore benefit the poor people of this district—with strange perversity characteristic of that misgovernment which, where there is an alternative, always chooses the wrong one. The powers that be seem to make a point of applying the forced labour of each district to purposes in which it can take no interest, scarcely ever to objects which benefit the men who are taken away from their farms to toil and slave

on public works. Of course, if the latter course were adopted they would labour with a will, consoled and sustained by the thought that they were toiling for the benefit of their own district, and promoting their own prosperity.

We wound our way in and out among the exuberant vegetation until we emerged near the town. It would be difficult to imagine a greater contrast than was here presented.

The space that intervened was a wilderness of rubbish heaps, mounds of the ancient city ; mingled with these were piles of modern refuse. One would have thought it the favourite resort of dust-carts, had such things existed. At one place we passed the carcass of a buffalo lying beside a stagnant pool ; it had died of disease, or old age, or overwork—at all events there were no sausage-makers there to turn it to account. Its hide, however, had been removed, and it offered a grand study for the anatomist.

A flock of vultures were alternately tearing at its flanks and fighting with the village dogs ; both seemed to consider the tough ligaments stretched over the bones to be a prize well worth shedding their blood to obtain. Some early bird had already secured the eyes.

The town itself, to which we were conducted across these uninviting suburbs, proved to be a congeries of narrow alleys and mud houses perched on the most irregular mounds of ancient rubbish. There were also deep excavations in the same, the object being to extract the old-world bricks as top-dressing for farm crops. In making these the peasants often find antiquities. I purchased a very elegant statuette of the Greek period, from a native who had obtained it amongst the mounds.

One of the industries of the place is the manufacture of oil; it is made from lettuce seed. I was invited by the owner of one of the factories to enter and inspect it. In a low dark mud chamber was an ox toiling round and round, turning a great millstone, which fitted into a granite basin. Into this from time to time was thrown the oil-bearing seed, and a very pure clear oil issued from a hole and was conveyed by a pipe into an adjoining chamber, where it was collected in tanks and stored for sale. The proprietor was a fine-looking old man, and was assisted in his business by six stalwart sons. He introduced us to some of his grand-children; in fact the overflowing exuberance of the family gave one the idea that the oil business was favourable to fecundity. He offered us some oil to taste; it was deliciously pure and sweet. We were afterwards shown into a private room, where we sat chatting for some time. He was in much grief just then because one of his grandsons, aged 20, had been drawn to serve in the army as a common soldier. Here is his own statement.

“I have a grandson 20 years of age in the Coptic College at Cairo. An order has been served upon me to withdraw him and to furnish him to the Government as a common recruit. I am not even allowed to pay for a substitute. In the time of Ismaïl we could buy off our relations by paying £120; now that privilege is denied us.” I observed, by way of consolation, that as his son was well educated, he would no doubt soon be raised to the rank of an officer, but he replied that unfortunately that door of hope was closed to him because he was a Christian—he could not even become a non-commissioned officer, for the same reason, but must always remain a private; and he had been so proud



of him. I was moved by the old man's distress to promise to try and get him off. He informed me that the recruiting officer was at Keneh, and that if I would seek him out and intercede, his grandson might be let off. I undertook to do my best. He said that if once he became a soldier he would probably be lost to him for life ; he had already spent much on his education. He told me that this district has no representative in the Chamber of Notables, because it is the property of a wealthy Pasha. He added, he wished they had a representative. He informed me that he paid a tax of 715 P. T. for the licence to keep the mill.

On our way back to the *Eva*, we entered into conversation with other villagers ; one of these took us through his own farm, which had not the benefit of a steam pump or of an embankment, and consequently only produced one crop per annum, chiefly cereals and oil plants ; he had, however, some palm trees. He said : —

“ I own 70 feddans. I pay from P. T. 124 to P. T. 134 land-tax, according to quality. All the people here complain that the land-tax in this district is too high. My father remembers that in the time of Mehemet Ali it was only P. T. 40 per feddan ; the present scale was fixed early in the reign of Ismaïl Pasha, and never since changed or increased, *i. e.*, for the last twenty years.

“ There used to be great additional exactions and injustice in collecting the taxes, but that has now ceased since three years.”

(This witness made the usual complaints of the sheep tax and the palm tax, adding that, owing to having to pay for so many trees not in bearing, scarcely any profit remained ; the dates in that district were usually con-

sumed by the people for food, not sold. He said they began to tax the trees when 4 feet high; they do not bear till several years older.)

My wife wished to purchase a young palm tree from him as an ornament for the *Eva*, but he explained that, although it could not bear fruit for some years, it had been already entered for taxation, and that even if he sold it, and it was dug up and taken away, he would still have to pay duty upon it.

A small peasant proprietor who accompanied us, said: "We grow barley by means of the shadoof, but we have had, owing to poverty and destitution, to part with our crops in advance for half their value. Barley is worth about P. T. 80 per ardeb; we have accepted in advance P. T. 40 per ardeb for our crops.

"We get about 5 ardebs here per feddan, if we irrigate well."

(In this form of usury 50 per cent. is thus obtained for the use of the money for at most six months.) The fellah receives for his 5 ardebs under these circumstances only P. T. 200. Of this, 130 piastres or more are swallowed up by the land-tax, leaving only 70 for working expenses and profit per feddan.

This loss is caused by having to pay cash for the land-tax in advance of the crop.

Not far from Kasr-er-Syad is the landing-place for a visit to some very interesting tombs of the sixth dynasty, a description of which, with illustrations of their contents, will be found in "Nile Gleanings," pp. 305—310.

## CHAPTER XXVII.

Dechney—An enterprising Fellah—His Opinions—His Sugar Factory—Black Honey—Cockroach Soup—A native Oil Mill—The Proprietor's first Benefit from the British Occupation—Loan Banks.

SOME distance higher up we landed at Dechney, a large village which extends along the river for a considerable distance. It abounds in pigeon-towers. I here made the acquaintance of a peasant-proprietor who owned that possession, somewhat rare in Upper Egypt, an embanked farm. He had also erected a small sugar-factory, and being anxious to see what native enterprise could accomplish, I asked his permission to inspect it. He conducted me across country to a canal at some distance to the rear of the village. Our path lay through a district covered with young wheat and oil-producing plants.

On arriving at the canal we proceeded some distance along it until we reached his farm. It was bounded on one side by the canal-embankment, and on the other three by banks of his own construction. The object of these was to keep out the inundation, and so to enable him to grow sugar-cane. He made the following statements to me during our walk :

"I own 20 feddans of land ; I pay P. T. 120 land-tax per feddan ; most of it is under cane crop, irrigated by sakiyehs ; the produce is about 20 to 25 kantars of raw sugar per feddan. This realizes from P. T. 120 to P. T.

130 per kantar (*i.e.*, from £24 to £30 per feddan), but cane cannot be raised without abundance of water constantly applied; it cannot be grown by means of shadoofs, except in quite small patches close to the Nile, and so grown the irrigation is too expensive. As the water-level falls, more and more men have to be employed to lift the water up to the crop; it takes six men per acre."

(This witness made the usual complaint of the sheep and date-palm taxes, and of the land-tax, which he said was much too high, but he admitted that with improved canals and double crops it would not be too high. I did not understand him to complain of the land-tax in his own case, because he had water-wheels and good water supply, and could consequently grow sugar-cane and make the best of his land. He showed me his sugar-mill, which was very rudely constructed, entirely of timber—rollers, wheels, and all; the cane-juice was boiled down in large coarse earthenware jars. This primitive apparatus was all home-made, but it seemed to answer its purpose. There are many similar native sugar-factories and oil-mills in the country. I mention them as an evidence of the ingenuity and industry of the people.)

"There is a great deal of debt here; it has been increased quite recently by the pressure put upon the people for the taxes when they had not the money to pay.

"I cannot give you any estimate of the proportion of indebtedness per feddan; every man keeps the amount of his debts secret, nor will the Greeks tell; they lend at 10 per cent. per month. Loan banks would be an enormous benefit to the fellahs

here if they could borrow at a moderate rate, 10 per cent. per annum; then they could construct sakiyehs and grow cane or double crops. Some build sakiyehs with money borrowed from the Greeks, but at 10 per cent. per month it ruins them.

"By the aid of district loan-banks they could also pay the taxes in bad years without having to sell their bullocks and other live stock, as well as their crops, at half their value, and they could repay the loan after realizing the value of their produce."

This witness finally observed: "We look for great reforms, Inshallah! (please God!) from the English."

(N.B.—This remark was made with reference to general improvements of administration; it had not reference to loan-banks.)

The sugar made in this native factory was almost black, and would not pass muster at a London grocer's, but it was very sweet; it had a strong flavour of treacle; and its dark colour was owing to the imperfect separation of that constituent from it. It is made entirely for home consumption, and is almost the only sugar the natives can procure, for the beautifully finished fine crystalline product of the Government mills is all exported for the benefit of the Bondholders of the Daira Saniyeh Loans. The produce all goes to Europe, and the cash it realizes remains there—a cruel drain upon Egypt; likely to last for many a long day. In this as in many other things Virgil's words may be applied to the poor cultivator:

*"Sic vos non vobis."*

The treacle which drains from the sugar is called black honey, and is much used by the natives. It does

not taste amiss, and must be highly nourishing, as it contains a decoction of lizards and cockroaches, which fall into the vats while the cane-juice is boiling; this advantage is lost in the Government factories, where the boiling takes place in closed vessels *in vacuo*. Such costly apparatus, as well as steam-driven centrifugal cylinders to separate the molasses, are quite beyond the compass of private native enterprise, hence the inferior quality of the sugar; still there is a much more unalloyed satisfaction in contemplating these poor imperfect native establishments, for there is no forced labour. It is a healthy industrial development, and the resulting benefits are retained in the country.

Our inspection over we returned to town, and I was invited into the house of a fellah owning an oil-mill. Here a number of the better class of villagers assembled, and my host made the following statement:—

“I own 200 feddans of land; I pay from P. T. 120 to P. T. 150 land-tax; I grow two kinds of oil plants, and grind and press the seed in my mill.

“I met with a great misfortune lately. I had loaded my dahabeeah with 60 kantars of oil and 180 ardebs of wool, and sent it down the river to Cairo. It was drifting down stream in the middle of the river on the 13th or 14th of December last, when, at 9 A.M., it was run down by the Government steamer *Masr-ou-dieh*, conveying English troops, and sunk. The goods on board were valued for 194 Egyptian pounds, besides the value of the boat. We raised the boat at much expense, but the cargo was carried away by the current, and is a dead loss. I reported the occurrence to the Mudir of Girgeh, but as the Government are responsible, the steamer,

captain, officers and crew being theirs, there is no hope of justice."

(N.B.—There were a number of the principal citizens of Dechneh present ; they all ridiculed the idea of justice being obtained where the Government were the defendants.) I then suggested a memorial to the Minister of the Interior, Ayoub Pasha. To this they assented, and said they would get one drawn up. I had previously suggested employing an advocate at Cairo ; they said he would exact from them more than the whole cargo was worth, and do nothing after all.

The steamer *Masr-ou-dieh* at the time of the disaster was conveying English troops up the Nile for the benefit of their health.

The remaining evidence of this witness was a repetition and confirmation of other witnesses at Dechneh.

On my return to Cairo I made enquiries among the English officers there as to the truth of his complaint about the *Masr-ou-dieh* and found it fully confirmed. One of the officers signed a statement as an eye-witness of what occurred ; he said that the native boat was floating down stream, and that the steamer, which had on board a detachment of invalid soldiers, ran into it and sank it with its cargo, and that he himself had been instrumental in saving a woman who was on board. I sent in his evidence to an official, and tried to get some compensation for the poor native merchant, but I had to leave Cairo before any action had been taken, and I have no means of ascertaining the result. The health trip of our soldiers, however, ought not to be allowed to bring ruin on a native without compensation being made.

Other villagers present contributed various items of

information, most of which were repetitions of what I had heard before ; they expressed a fervent hope that England would effect important reforms. All people were expecting it. Amongst other things they said :—

Arabi took away many recruits from here ; many hid themselves to avoid serving ; then he put their wives in prison to make them tell where their husbands were.

In consequence of the revolution and low Nile here there is great distress ; many could not pay the land tax, and had to borrow from the Greeks at 10 per cent. per month ; others had to pawn their crops in advance at half their value ; others had their cattle and other property distrained ; some had their land sold. The farms of some were not covered at all by the inundation ; these were not required to pay the tax.

Much of the land here is irrigated by sakiyehs. By means of these two or three crops in the year could be obtained, but in some places the water fails because the canals are not deep enough, and the wheels become useless ; in others, when they have constant water, sugar-cane is found to be the most profitable thing to cultivate, and that occupies the ground the whole season.

A sakiyeh is worked day and night by three pairs of buffaloes ; each pair works six hours, and is then relieved. One sakiyeh thus employed will irrigate 4 feddans of cane at the utmost.

It will be observed from some of the foregoing circumstances that village debts do exist to a certain extent in Upper Egypt in the same form as in the Delta, viz., as loans borrowed at ruinous rates of interest from European money-lenders ; 10 per cent. per month is not an unusual rate here, but it is much



less general than in the north, because Christian usurers are fewer and capitalists scarcer. The Mahommedans are interdicted by the Koran from lending money at usurious rates, but they evade this obstacle by purchasing the crops of the fellahs in advance at a discount of from 33 to 50 per cent.; the almost invariable cause of these borrowings is that the peasants are required to pay the taxes before the sale of their crops furnishes them with the means of doing so. The consequence is the pauperization of the fellahs either by the one system of usury or the other. Another exceedingly short-sighted proceeding in the collection of taxes is the distraining of their cattle, which are then sold at nominal rates; this takes from them the means of making the best of their land, and renders their poverty chronic.

District loan banks under Government supervision would confer great benefits upon the people of Upper Egypt, by enabling them to set up water-wheels and by rescuing them from the clutches of the usurers, and by enabling them to meet their taxes on less ruinous terms than they do at present.

Means should be taken to insure that no money shall be advanced to them except for one or the other of these two purposes, or for the portable steam-pumps so common in the Delta, but which are scarcely ever seen here.

## CHAPTER XXVIII.

A Community of Outcasts—Canals without Water—A Cheap Market—The Date Tax  
—Salt and Sheep Taxes.

WE landed next day at an out-of-the-way district, to which I was attracted by the poverty-stricken appearance of the people at work in the fields. It occupied the angle formed by a canal with the Nile. The inhabitants wore scarcely any clothes, and they took us to a confused collection of mud hovels which they told us was their village. They were of frail construction, and the most wretched apologies for human habitations I had seen in Egypt. Amongst these were a number of lean, naked, starved-looking children, minus the usual potbellies and the vivacity that accompanies them.

The people were living in the most squalid hovels, and were clad in old sacks and rags; they were obviously ill-fed and miserably poor and destitute; their story, as told by themselves, is as follows:—

“We once all had land of our own; most of us come from the neighbourhood of Esneh; we lost our land in the time of Ismaïl Pasha. The taxes and exactions were so crushing at the beginning of his reign that we could not pay them; the arrears accumulated for four or five years, and then our farms were bestowed upon any person who could afford to meet our arrears.

“We lost our land fifteen years ago; since then we have rented land where we could get it. We have

been here some years. We pay our landlord P. T. 200 per feddan per year, and  $1\frac{1}{2}$  ardeb of the produce ; this swallows up the first crop almost entirely, and sometimes the whole crop does not suffice.

"After the first crop, we cultivate patches by means of the shadoof; we club together to do that. Six of us work one set of shadoofs; one set can water 2 feddans if they work every day from sunrise to sunset. By this means we raise a crop of barley; but when we do this our landlord charges us P. T. 77 and  $1\frac{1}{2}$  ardeb of barley additional rent; besides these things, we try to keep a few sheep, but we have to pay sheep tax on them.

"Our landlord has to pay the land tax, he also protects us from forced labour, because if we were taken away for that we could not pay the rent at all.

"As it is we could just manage to live if it was not for the salt tax, but we have to pay that on every member of our families, down to the smallest child, and that takes all that is left to us; we do not want salt, there is plenty of salt close by in the desert.

"We could irrigate our land much better, and more of it, if the canals had water in them, but they are dry; if they were deepened there would be water in them always."

(They took me to see two canals, one of which crosses to Farshoot; they were both dry, but they had dug deep holes in the floor of the canals, and thus obtained water, which they were extracting by shadoof for the irrigation of their land. It was a burning hot day, but they toiled without intermission at their work from morning to night, and day after day, the only reward each man had in prospect being the produce of one-

third of an acre of barley, the lion's share of which was to go to the landlord.

I have entered thus minutely into the circumstances of these poor people to illustrate how hardly the salt tax bears upon the most destitute class, and how cruel have been the consequences of the extortions of twenty years ago.

Their statement also incidentally proves how utterly inadequate the shadoof is as a means of irrigation. They told me they would never use it if they could afford a sakiyeh, which, with two bullocks and one man, would suffice to water 4 feddans, whereas six men can only water 2 feddans by the most unremitting and severe toil.)

The villagers—a most gipsy-looking lot—followed us about like drowning men clinging to a straw, hoping that we might by calling attention to their grievances give them a chance of obtaining redress for the worst of them, and render their existence a little more tolerable : would that we could ! We strove to confer an immediate benefit upon them by buying up all the eggs they could produce, and we purchased a couple of hundred on their own terms, which were so absurdly low that we made them a present over and above. Evidently in that locality the depreciation of the precious metals had not commenced, but still stood at somewhere about the level they occupied in England at the time of the Saxon Heptarchy. Our dragoman was scandalized at our not beating the poor wretches down, and would scarcely speak to us for several hours afterwards. He declared we were spoiling the people.

## THE DATE-PALM TAX.

This is an impolitic tax in any form, because it is a tax on food, on home-grown food, on the one kind of food which can be relied upon in a year of low Nile and consequent famine.

Every traveller on the Nile must have observed portions of the banks cut away by the current, and often thus exposing to view the roots of date-palms; these are then seen to be of immense length, and to descend below the level even of low Nile.

Providence has, by this provision, endowed the tree with the power of resisting drought; it is independent of irrigation, and it flourishes even in years of famine, when every other crop has failed, because it is enabled to draw moisture from the water-bearing stratum of soil, which corresponds with the river-level for miles inland, owing to the porousness of the soil.

A native will never starve so long as he has a sufficiency of dates for himself and his family.

The propagation of this tree ought, therefore, to be encouraged by every means; to put a penalty upon planting it may be termed suicidal, yet this blunder still continues; the collectors book for taxing, not only the fruit-bearing palms, but the young immature trees which will not bear for the next five or six years, and the male trees which are always barren; the consequence is that the fellahs, to escape the tax, often cut down and destroy the young trees, and are thus deprived of an invaluable source of food supply. There is nothing the natives dread more than to be compelled to provide hard cash; they have usually to sell their property at a great discount to do so. The few piastres

charged on each palm may seem insignificant, but when a large percentage of unproductive trees is included, it becomes a serious deduction from the value of the produce, and it must be remembered that they generally grow them for home consumption, not for sale.

If there must be a date tax, let the fruit and not the tree be taxed.

It would be better to abolish it altogether, and to find some other substitute.

An addition to the land-tax of 3 piastres per feddan would suffice.

### THE SALT TAX.

The compulsory purchase of the Government salt by the poor has nominally been abolished, but, as a matter of fact, it is everywhere enforced in the villages of Middle and Upper Egypt. This tax is bitterly complained of by the poorer classes of fellahs, *i.e.* by the great bulk of the population; it is often the last straw that breaks them down; it is levied on every man, woman, and child, so that the larger a man's family is, *i.e.* the heavier his burthens and the harder his struggle for existence and for the necessities of life for himself and his family, the larger are the claims upon him for this obnoxious impost. The amount, *viz.*, six piastres and ten paras, or about 1s. 3d., per individual, may sound insignificant, but on a family of five it would be 6s. 3d.; this represents a much larger sum in Upper Egypt than in England.

For a family of seven or eight it amounts to a tax of P. T. 50 (about 10s. 6d.). That may appear no very serious sum, but when one has realised how miserably poor they are, how narrow is the margin that separates

them from absolute destitution, it becomes manifest that it must be severely felt. We know that in the case of the cottier tenants in the West of Ireland, 10s. is often an impossible sum for them to raise. It is so also with the peasants here ; they say they frequently have to sell their clothes to pay for this salt.

What makes it more irritating to them is that they do not require to buy any salt at all, because they can obtain as much as they want from the desert, where they collect it themselves.

I heard nothing of this tax in the Delta ; either it is not exacted there, or, the people being better off, it is not burthensome.

The well-to-do buy the Government salt spontaneously ; there is none other in the market ; it is a State monopoly.

The fact that the compulsory purchase of salt by the poor, though nominally abolished, should still be corruptly enforced by the native officials, affords an additional illustration of how difficult, if not hopeless, it is to render any reform in Egypt effectual unless under the personal supervision of trustworthy Europeans.

The same remarks apply in a lesser degree to the sheep tax. Sheep enable the cultivator to turn to account a vast amount of refuse products of his land which would otherwise be wasted.

## CHAPTER XXIX.

Ouled Ammer—The art of Pauperizing brought to perfection—Doum Palms—Their Fruit—Forced Labour System in operation—Costly Economy—Reforms suggested.

NEXT day we landed at a locality near which a great bend of the Nile occurs, forming a loop; opposite to it commences a short cut across the isthmus to the temple of Denderah.

Our attention was attracted by numerous Doum palms, under which we observed some old men, women, and children, all naked except the ladies. They were engaged in cultivating some little plots of ground under the trees, and presented appearances of poverty even more abject than that of our acquaintance of the day before at Marajeh. We wondered where the able-bodied men of the community were, for there were only one or two to be seen, and they were working almost naked at a set of shadoofs close by. The crops looked sickly, as if the latter had not been doing their duty. When we appeared the women hastily handed some ragged sacking to the old men, which they put round their waists as a tribute to decency; the whole party then gathered round us, and we began to question them. As soon as they found we took an interest in them, a little naked imp clambered up one of the Doum palms with the agility of a monkey. Poor fellow! he had not much weight to carry; his dark-brown legs were like



sticks, and every rib was defined with distressing distinctness.

He tore off a bunch of the fruit, with which he slid down the stem and presented it to us ; we were so imprudent as to give him a piastre ; whereupon all the other little imps swarmed up other trees and presented us with bunches enough to fill a wheelbarrow, and then stood round us grinning. It must be remembered that they were in a condition of absolute nudity—the supply of sackcloth was only sufficient for their elders. What a group we should have formed to photograph as we stood there under the palm grove with our strange *entourage* !

To please them we tried our teeth upon one of the doum fruits ; they were about the size of turkey's eggs. We might as well have tried to bite a bed-post ; they looked as if they had been turned in mahogany. The flesh is hard and perfectly dry, something like decaying wood ; when reduced by the agency of powerful grinders the result is a mouthful of sweetish sawdust. Persons with vivid imaginations have declared that it had the flavour of gingerbread. Within is a stone so hard that it is used as a sort of vegetable ivory, suitable for buttons and other such articles. For the benefit of those who have never seen a doum palm I may mention that the leaves resemble those of the fan palm, and that the stem has the peculiarity of forking towards the crown into two, three, or four branches, each terminating in a bunch of large fan-like leaves. As the result of our catechism we elicited the following information. The name of the place was Ouled Ammer ; it was in the province of Keneh.

In reply to further questions they said :—

"Some of us rent our land, we do not all own it; our rent is one-third of the crop, and the land-tax P. T. 125 per feddan.

"We have already harvested our dourra, and have planted with wheat as much of the dourra stubbles as we can manage to irrigate with shadoofs."

(I inspected these patches of wheat; they were divided into little tray-like squares to hold the water conducted into them by channels from the shadoofs.)

"Six men can water one feddan for the season, but half the men of the village have been taken away for forced labour at the canal works on the other side of the river; this is just the time they are most wanted here, so that we shall not have more than half a crop, about two ardebs per feddan (*i.e.*, the crop will be worth 2*l.* per feddan; 13*s.* 4*d.* will go to the landlord, and 1*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* will remain to be divided amongst the shadoof men—under 9*s.* a-piece).

"If we had a water-wheel we could raise five ardebs per feddan, and cultivate much more under second crops; but where are we to obtain money to set up a sakiyeh?

"As we cannot water the wheat properly it will mature very late; the Nile will overflow our land early in September, and the water will remain thirty or forty days. The dourra is put in immediately it retires, and is harvested in December.

"We have to pay the tax on all date, but not on the doum palms."

(N.B.—The consequence was that they had a great many doum palms, but very few dates, though the fruit of the latter is much more valuable as food. These villagers lived in mere hovels of mud; they were all

more or less emaciated, especially the old men and the boys.)

One family of eight were all naked, including the grandfather, whose sole article of dress was a felt skull-cap; the only member of it who wore clothes was the mother, who had an infant at breast. One of the boys they said was an orphan, whose father and mother were both dead; he was adopted for charity. They pointed him out to me, he was about seven or eight years of age; they complained that they had to pay the salt tax on him as well as on all the others. We asked them why there were so few able-bodied men. They pointed across the river, and said that most of them were over there at forced labour, making a canal for the Government.

The Nile is here very wide, but looking in the direction indicated, we saw some high embankments swarming with men, and we immediately determined to visit the scene, glad of the opportunity of seeing the forced labour system in actual operation.

It may be observed that these poor people were not interested in the canal, it could not by any possibility be of any use to them, for it was on the wrong side of the river, but they had to send provisions across to their fellow villagers, as Government gave them nothing whatever. A man was told off to take them from time to time sacks of bread and dates contributed by their friends and relations; meanwhile, they themselves were at starvation point.

The canal was for the benefit of estates near Farshoot belonging to rich Pashas. We ordered the boat to be got ready and rowed across, landing under the embankment already mentioned. Here we found several sail-

ing craft, which had brought contributions of food for the victims of the *corvée* ; a smart yacht belonging to the Deputy Governor of the province of Kenh also lay there.

On ascending the embankment an extraordinary scene met my view. A cut about 18 feet deep had been made through a conglomerate of sand and gravel ; this trench was flanked right and left by high embankments, consisting of the *débris* excavated.

From the summit of these ridges to the floor of the canal was from 35 to 40 feet deep ; along the bottom and on the slopes, right and left, men swarmed thickly like bees on a honeycomb for a distance of more than a mile. There appeared to be no sort of order or system ; they were a mere mob, the individuals in which were constantly getting in each other's way.

The overseer told me that the entire forced labour of the province was concentrated there, 40,000 men in all ; that they worked from sunrise to sunset without intermission, except a brief interval at midday for a meal consisting of bread soaked in unfiltered Nile water ; this bread was sent them by their relatives, and they had a meal of it before commencing work and another at night. They have also to provide their own baskets for carrying the excavated soil ; they were engaged in filling these baskets with gravel (using their fingers for the purpose), climbing the sides of the cut, and tipping them on the outer slope. The majority had no implements but their hands ; a limited number had short picks a foot long, which they also have to provide, Government contributing nothing whatever.

I descended to the bottom of the trench, and found

myself in a most trying atmosphere, vitiated by crowds of men, thick with dust, a fierce sun beating down on our heads from above, and so walled in that not a breath of air could reach us. Even outside, the day was unusually hot.

The temperature in my cabin with all windows open was 82 degrees; at the bottom of that trench it was much hotter; I should estimate it at 95 degrees; there was absolutely no shade. In this fiery heat and glare and amid much dust they toiled all day long. They were clad in calico, mostly reduced to rags by the work they were engaged in; they wore on their heads felt skull-caps exactly like those represented as worn by workmen in the 4th dynasty bas-reliefs. They were barefooted. Their calico rags formed their only covering at night, and they slept on the bare ground in the open air without any kind of shelter, although the nights are very cold. Amongst them were many overseers armed with sticks, with which they often without any apparent reason struck the men while carrying loads on their heads; many had sore fingers and sore feet, for there were sharp flints amongst the *débris*.

I have seen negro slaves at work on the cotton plantations of Cuba; I have also seen the convicts at work at Portland; the conditions under which all these laboured were greatly preferable to those to which these Egyptian fellahs were exposed, and it must be remembered that most of them own farms, and constitute, in fact, the yeomanry of Upper Egypt.

What struck me most as I gazed on the toiling multitude was the pitiable waste of human labour, for one-fourth the number, with proper tools and appliances,

and sufficient food, and with intelligent and experienced foremen to direct them, could have done the work far better and more quickly than the ill-directed efforts of that mob of men, without implements, weak from scanty diet, and exhausted by hardship ; an English navy would laugh at their achievements as excavators, but the conditions as to food, temperature, and exposure under which they work would kill him long before the month was out. Ophthalmia is one evil that results ; I cannot imagine a better recipe for the wholesale manufacture of this malady than to work men to exhaustion in fiery heat, glare, and dust all day, and then to expose them at night to the heavy dew and frosty temperature, with the bare ground for their couch, and their calico rags for their only covering.

Between 12 and 1 o'clock the signal was given for the mid-day halt, and they rushed down the steep incline to the water side, like mad things, to quench their thirst. The dabbling of so great a multitude in the water made it extra muddy, yet in this liquid, of the colour and consistency of pea-soup, they soaked their bread, squatting down close to the edge to do so. It was a scene not to be forgotten. I looked across at the village I had lately left ; there was the grove of doum palms, and the women and children and old men, and here were the strength and vigour of the community. The men who ought to have been doing its work wasting their strength on a project which could profit them nothing ! Yet the Ouled Ammerites were better off than many of their fellows, for they at least were near home, and it was easy to send them food, whereas many others were from the furthest end of the province, and the task of administering to their necessities was rendered much more difficult.

To these poor peasants may be applied, slightly modified, the lines of Addison :

“ How has kind heav’n adorn’d the gifted land,  
And scatter’d blessings with a wasteful hand !  
But what avail her unexhausted stores,  
Her glowing mountains, and her sunny shores,  
With all the gifts that heaven and earth impart,  
The smiles of nature, and the charms of art,  
While proud oppression in her valley reigns,  
And tyranny usurps her fertile plains ?  
The poor inhabitant beholds in vain  
The redd’ning orange and the swelling grain :  
Joyless he sees the growing oils and wines,  
And in the date palm’s grateful shade repines :  
Starves, in the midst of nature’s bounty curst,  
And in the loaded vineyard dies of thirst.”

It must not be supposed that because the Government pay nothing for it that therefore forced labour, as now conducted, is cheap ; on the contrary, it is most costly to the country, every man there withdrawn from the cultivation of his farm represents a family by so much impoverished.

One-half the able-bodied population are engaged for between three and four months in the year in forced labour ; that means that the second crop on their farms is reduced in productiveness by one-half, that on the lands where 4 ardebs per acre could have been yielded had the hands all remained at home, only two are yielded owing to deficient irrigation when half the hands are withdrawn, that is to say, that it amounts to a tax of £2 per acre on every acre devoted to second crops.

Where land is rented, not owned, these second crops often constitute all the return the cultivator gets, rent and land-tax entirely swallowing up the first ; the price the Government pay is the pauperization of the people and the reduction of their tax-paying capacity ;

but that is not the whole price. There are not men enough in Egypt to cultivate it properly or to develop its resources fully ; the Government, grudging the cost of food and implements, are prodigal only in men, the very article that most needs here to be economized ; if they can save the expense of tools by setting four or five men to do the work which one man with tools and food could easily accomplish, they send the five men and withhold the tools and food. I fear also that the sacrifice of men is not merely temporary ; men cannot be exposed with impunity to the hardships which I witnessed, the constitutions and health of many must be permanently impaired, even their lives shortened ; 23,000 men are said to have perished in making the Mahmoudieh Canal, and I can well believe it after what I witnessed near Keneh.

It must be accepted as a fact that forced labour exists with the consent of the great mass of the people of Egypt. I have heard them complain of this or that tax, and suggest its abolition, and I have heard them complain of the unfair apportionment of forced labour to their district, of the capricious distribution of the men at a distance from their homes, instead of employing them on works in their own districts, in which they had a direct interest, and upon which they could labour with good-will, encouraged by the consciousness that they were benefiting themselves and their district. But I have never heard one single person of any class suggest the abolition of the forced labour system ; they admit it to be necessary, but it does not follow on that account that nothing can be done to reform its conditions. The first term of labour should be postponed till the first crops are threshed out and sold, and the



second crops well established and less likely to suffer from defective irrigation.

The men should be supplied by Government with nourishing food. Two or three intervals for meals and rest should be allowed in the day instead of only one.

Proper implements for excavating should be supplied to them.

Labour-saving machinery should be introduced where possible.

Skilled foremen should direct the works. The men should be divided systematically into gangs, each gang with its own task marked out, instead of the desultory fashions which now prevail, for they work in a mob, and every man is in his neighbour's way.

Some shelter ought to be arranged for the night if possible, or, at any rate, they should be supplied with a warm wrap, no matter how coarse ; old sacks would be better than nothing.

Lastly, they should, as far as circumstances permit, be employed in their own districts on works of public utility, not for the private benefit of rich Pashas as now frequently occurs.

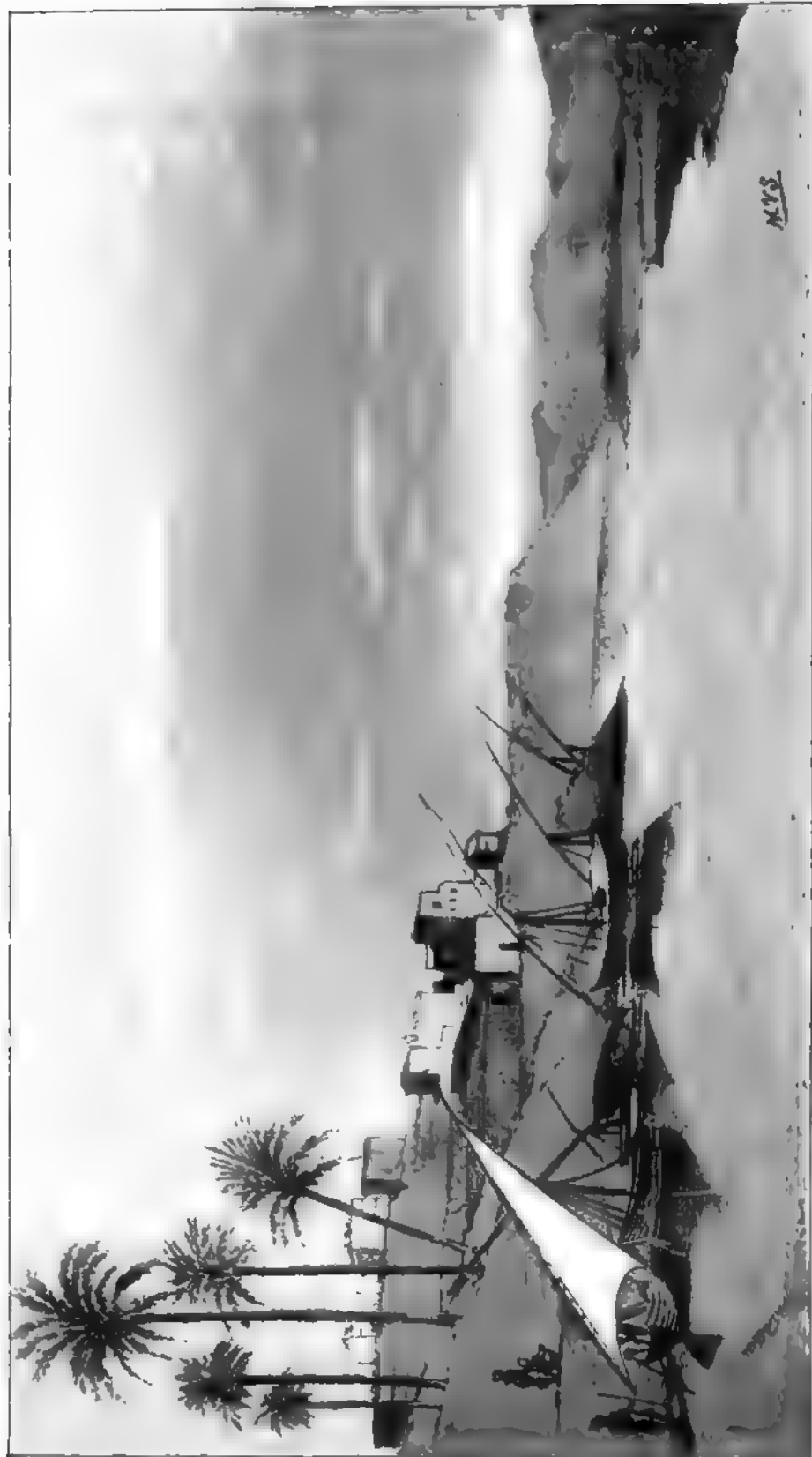
The necessity for forced labour is much stronger in the Delta than in Upper Egypt, because it is all embanked, and it is of vital importance to keep the embankments in repair and to prevent the inundation from getting over them.

Why should not the people in Upper Egypt be employed in embanking their own districts and thus rendering them as productive or more so than the Delta ? Then they would labour heartily and contentedly.

Let it not be supposed that when a new canal is

[illegible]

Only two were aged, and the rest were young. But every one had a job to do. They were interested by their own work, and I provided them with tools and materials. At five o'clock they began to work, and at eight work was stopped, and they had an hour's rest. I allowed them to go to the river to get water, and they breakfasted here. I kept in the boat, and at a sup after they had finished their work, I got on the ground in the open



BELLIANEH—UPPER EGYPT



## CHAPTER XXX.

Keneh—Its Caravan Trade with the Red Sea—Its Coptic Population—Visit to the Governor of the Province—A Native Dinner—A Harem—Political Condition of Upper Egypt—Their view of the Sovereignty of the Sultan—Their sentiments on Representative Government—The necessity of a Period of Preparation for it—A bad Night.

NEXT day we reached Keneh, an important town of 16,000 inhabitants. It is the point of junction between the Nile and the caravan route to Kosseir on the Red Sea. The produce from the countries bordering the latter is brought to Keneh because it is the point at which the Nile approaches nearest to it. It is an emporium of trade with the Arabian coasts, and in its markets will be found Mocha coffee, and dates from Jeddah, packed in boxes; they are particularly luscious, and free from the dry fibrous quality which often characterises Egyptian dates. At Keneh are also to be found Persian carpets and other Oriental luxuries.

The current of the Nile at Keneh flows at the rate of  $3\frac{1}{2}$  miles per hour at high water, and at  $2\frac{1}{2}$  at its lowest. This is its average pace between the cataract and Cairo. Keneh contains 4,000 Coptic Christians, *i.e.*, one fourth of its population are of that persuasion. We met in its Bazaars specimens of the Red Sea Coast tribes, wild-looking fellows who had accompanied the caravans; there were also a number of gaily-dressed women, covered with bracelets, rings, and jewellery. We had to stay two days to give our crew an opportunity of baking bread, a necessary function which takes place at stated

places on the way up the river, and which they are most unwilling to dispense with, even when one offers to buy the bread ready made and present it to them gratis. The ostensible reason they give, is that baker's bread has not the same strength in it as their own make. I suspect that the real reason is that they like the holiday and the ramble on shore, and the visits to the coffee houses, where they meet their acquaintance.

Soon after our arrival we were visited by a native gentleman. He insisted on our dining with him, and we accepted, nothing loth, always glad of a chance of seeing as much as possible of Arab life ; the entertainment was fixed for the following day. We went on shore to visit the Governor of the Province. The town is some distance inland from the river, and we had rather a dusty walk. Government House is a great straggling building outside the town, including two large court-yards with various bureaux off them. His Excellency received us very politely with the usual ceremonies ; like all Turks he had courteous, polished manners. Amongst other things I asked him about the forced labour, and he confirmed the statement made to me before that 40,000 men were concentrated at the Farshoot canal works, and that they constituted the entire forced labour of the province. I learned from him that the recruiting officer spoken of by the oil manufacturer at Kasr-es-Syad was in his office at that moment, so I went to fulfil my promise and to intercede for the old man's grandson ; he received my appeal favourably, and promised to get the lad off. He said that such notifications as the old man had received, were sometimes mere matters of form.

As we left the building we were met by our hospi-

able native acquaintance, who had brought his stud of white asses, handsomely caparisoned, for us to ride. We sent down to the *Eva* for the lady's saddle, and then set out for our host's house.

My wife was permitted to visit his hareem, and found his consort to be a handsome young Circassian. She was also introduced to his mother, a fine-looking old lady who had been a slave. On rejoining our host she remarked to him that he might well be proud of having such a stately mother. "Oh!" said he, "*we* bought *it* 50 years ago!"—speaking of her as if she had been an item of the family furniture. We further learned that she was of Greek extraction. Our worthy host had certainly not inherited the maternal beauty. He had a mouth which looked as if he habitually crammed his whole fist into it, and a very muddy complexion. As I gazed at him I came to Talleyrand's conclusion: "*alors c'était monsieur votre père qui n'était pas si bien.*"

Next day we went to fulfil our dinner engagement with him. We were shown into a large room on the first floor of his house, where he received us with much ceremony; the apartment was plain and without ornament of any kind, except a portrait of the Duke of Connaught, who had been his guest, an event of which he was not a little proud. The only furniture consisted of the usual divans along the wall. After chatting here for some time, the servants brought in a large brass tray; it was circular, and had a shallow rim. It was deposited upon a stand, our host with his own hands arranged a number of cakes of bread *en échelon* all round the edge as close as they could be packed; we were then invited to take our seats. He placed my spouse at

his right hand, and me opposite to himself ; plates were handed to us, and, knowing the European weakness for knives and forks, we were supplied with those articles too. He tried to keep us in countenance by using them also, but got on so badly that he betook himself to his fingers, and soon made up the lost ground. There were about a dozen courses, each of which were placed upon the tray separately one by one, and he helped us with his fingers. This in Eastern countries is considered the highest honour. Some of the dishes were really good ; among them were tomatoes stuffed with minced meat ; savoury quenelles of mutton enveloped in fennel leaves (these must be eaten leaves and all) ; kabobs of little disks of various meats impaled upon wooden skewers, cooked in that condition, and brought up hissing hot ; cakes of a mixture of flour, oil and honey. These were so good that we asked our host for the recipe, and tried to reproduce them on board the *Eva*, but in vain ; there was some cunning mystery of manipulation which our cook could never attain to. These cakes were in fact a reproduction of that cake of flour and oil which the widow of Sarepta was about to prepare for herself and her son as their last meal in the famine ; it was her poverty alone that compelled her to omit the honey.

When we had got so far, and were beginning to feel decidedly "crowded," what was our consternation to see a large turkey and a couple of fowls brought in ! I wished for that bag which Jack artfully tied under his chin when he dined with the Welsh giant. But the turkey clearly was the crowning glory of the feast, and we must swallow some though we died for it. Our difficulties were not diminished by beholding our host dig the fingers of both his hands into the breast and



rend it open as Samson rent the lion; he further tore off tit-bits and handed them to us, as a special mark of honour. To refuse them would be to an Oriental the direst insult, we had to accept them, smiling as tight-rope dancers do on the public when they are about to risk their lives: "Morituri te salutant!" On another occasion when I dined with a native a couple of English officers were my fellow guests. They had read and taken to heart the special regulations issued to the army of occupation in Egypt; one of these instructs them punctiliously to adhere to the dictates of Oriental etiquette, so as not to give offence, and accordingly, when our host handed them the rent morsels with his fingers, the gallant fellows tried to swallow them, but they were very nearly acting as prompt emetics.

Dinner over, the servants brought in an elegant brass jug of water and a curious basin of the same material, with a little minaret rising in the centre, on which was perched a small dish containing a fragment of soap; we washed our fingers, nothing loth, and dried them on fine napkins which the attendants handed to us. But when our host's turn came, we saw that we had made a terrible omission, for after soaping his digits he took a pull at the jug, filled his mouth and rinsed it vigorously, then converting it into a force pump, he directed a stream with unerring aim and syringed the soapsuds off those useful extremities which characterise men and monkeys.

We collapsed, and were nowhere. The practice of a lifetime would have been necessary to do it gracefully. We had felt a presentiment all day that that mouth was destined to accomplish some superhuman feat. Now he had achieved it, and our minds were at rest.

After cigarettes and coffee our host showed us some handsome Persian carpets which had come to him by caravan through Kosseir, and we had much conversation on the politics of Arabi's rebellion—on irrigation—on agriculture, trade, and other things. He confirmed the statements of previous informants, as did also a Coptic merchant, whom we visited later in the day. I may as well here give the results of my enquiries in Upper Egypt on the political situation there.

I have not been able to discover any trace whatever of Nationalism. Arabi did not attempt to appeal here to any such sentiment ; it would not have been understood, but as the lever presented to him in the Delta by domestic debt was not so potent here—Christian usurers being comparatively few—he appealed to their fanaticism as Mussulmans, and at last succeeded in arousing it to a mischievous extent.

The large Coptic Christian element in Upper Egypt offered a butt at which it could be directed, all the more readily because they are the most thriving, prosperous, and moneyed class in the community ; they are numerous in all the provincial towns, and are found also in the villages. The anti-Christian agitation organised by Arabi was fast ripening at the time of his defeat, and had the rebellion lasted another fortnight there would have been a general massacre of the Copts. England saved them from this, and they are profoundly grateful ; there is not a Copt in Upper Egypt who does not pray that English rule may continue.

The Mahommedans say that Arabi told them that the English were coming to destroy their religion and to take away their property, and that he was their champion,

and they believed him ; but now they are undeceived, and regard him as an impostor.

The Copts are zealous partizans of the English, the Mahommedans have relapsed into indifference.

I came out to Egypt sanguine as to the possibility of establishing representative institutions upon a popular basis, but a careful and anxious inquiry into the actual state of feeling, into the political elements, into the fitness of the great bulk of the people for such institutions, and as to any wish that may exist among them to possess them, has satisfied me that an interval of reformed administration must elapse before such a change could be either prudently attempted or successfully carried out. There is no general demand for representative government, and any agitation set on foot with the view of artificially stimulating such a demand, or of developing National sentiments, would at present be apt to produce mischievous results ; the train might be difficult to kindle, but when kindled it would probably cause an explosion in the shape of social war, aggravated by the religious and fanatical element.

It is imagined in England that the nominal sovereignty of the Sultan is regarded here with religious veneration. I have found, however, that the majority of the fellahs, cultivators, and owners of the soil have but dim notions of the existence of such a personage as the Sultan. They do not look beyond the Khedive, and the more ignorant of them in remote districts scarcely look beyond the Mudir of their Province ; in him is embodied their idea of government. It must be remembered that the press, which so rapidly disseminates ideas in Europe, does not exist here at all ; it is only dim and distorted rumours that reach the provincial population.

As I looked down upon the 40,000 men engaged on forced labour, as described in a previous chapter, I had, in fact, a bird's-eye view of half the constituency of the large and important Province of Keneh, for it is only landowners who are liable to forced labour. The most zealous advocate for popular government, had he stood beside me on that occasion, and taken counsel of his common sense, must have admitted that that multitude required an interval of education before they could be deemed ripe for self-government. I have conversed with many of their class, and I have come to the conclusion that there is not in the mind of any one of them a notion of representative government. When, after persevering trouble and explanation, they have been got to comprehend its meaning, it does not kindle in their minds apparently any desire to possess it; their thoughts move in a narrow circle, they are occupied with their farms, and how to make a living out of them after satisfying the tax-gatherers and the usurer. The subject of politics is new and foreign to them; they do not embark willingly on it, and their usual conclusion is to the effect that they do not care how or by whom they are governed, provided they are well governed. I have already said that there is not a trace of any national movement or aspiration. Even the Notables when questioned say that that cry was limited to the Military party, and did not take root outside, except among persons of the student class at Cairo and Alexandria, and amongst the employés who were affected by the substitution of Europeans and by the financial reforms.

In the Delta Arabi availed himself of the domestic debt grievance, which he artfully interwove with their

religious antipathies to impart motive power to his enterprise. In Upper Egypt he appealed almost exclusively to their religious prejudices, and availed himself of the jealousies and antipathies that exist there between the Mahommedans and the Copts; he proclaimed a war of religion, but there, too, there was a prize in view, viz., the property of the Copts, which after the massacre would have fallen to the Mahommedans.

The Copts are too numerous to be omitted from the account in considering the factors in the political question, or in estimating the effect of provoking political agitation in Egypt.

The people here have been very outspoken; they have not attempted to deny that they wished Arabi success, but that was not till after he had proclaimed the religious war; then they said it was their duty as good Mussulmen to do so. Now they declare that they are undeceived, and perceive him to have been an impostor; no sympathy whatever for him remains; they expect reforms from the English, and are willing to welcome them in Upper Egypt, as in the Delta.

While in the bazaar, where we purchased Mocha coffee and dates, my wife dropped her purse; she missed it immediately, but it had been snapped up by some half-grown lads whom I observed following us. I mention the incident because I shall have something to say later as to what ensued. Our host expressed great regret, and said that he would recover it for us by the time we returned to Kenh on our homeward journey. Soon afterwards we went on board the *Eva*, and she spread her huge mainsail to the favouring breeze, and glided out into mid-channel; as she did so the Governor

of the Province, with a numerous retinue, appeared on the bank to pay us a visit, but it was getting late and we did not put back.

We stopped for the night at a place called Kopht, but our end was not peace. After we had moored to the bank a violent storm of wind arose, and all night long our boats were banging against the sides of the *Eva*, making sleep impossible.

## CHAPTER XXXI.

Arrival at Luxor—H. R. H. Prince Frederick Charles of Germany—Dancing Girls—The Wasp Dance—A Performance in our honour—The last Page in the History of the Plain of Thebes—Esneh—Too civil by half—Wild Herdsmen from Central Africa—A Ride across Country—A Reminiscence of Diocletian's Persecution—Empress Helena's Chapel—Mummy Gazelles—The Governor of the Province.

SOON after daybreak the mail steamer came in view, and the captain sent word that he had orders to tow us; we reached Karnac by this means early in the day, and stopped there, deciding to visit the temple, as nothing would be gained by reaching Luxor before evening. While perched on the summit of one of the great propylons we saw the Red Prince's boat pass in tow of a special steamer. She had plenty of Prussian eagles streaming in the wind, and H. H. R. himself was sitting under the awning on the quarter-deck with Brugsch Pasha beside him, pointing out the ruins; his retinue were around him, burly Germans all.

In the evening we reached Luxor, and found it in a state of excitement about the arrival of the Red Prince, for whom there was to be an illumination and a fantasia at the Prussian Consul's. While here we dined with a native gentleman. The officers in charge of a steamer with invalid soldiers, as also some Egyptologists who had arrived a day or two before to make drawings of the Theban monuments for M. Maspero, constituted the party. As I have so lately described a native dinner, I may pass over its incidents on the present occasion.

It was followed by an entertainment of dancing girls, who came forward and performed one by one, the rest squatting in a group at the end of the room awaiting their turn; the *première danseuse* was a tall and exceedingly good-looking girl from a village called Goos. One of her feats was the balancing of a Champagne bottle on her head with a lighted candle stuck in it, while she went through her dances. Amongst the audience was the captain of the steamer, who was an old acquaintance of ours, as he had commanded the *Benisouef*, in which we made our tour in the Delta. He was in uniform. He looked on absorbed in admiration of the young lady from Goos, and she added fuel to the flames and made roast meat of his heart, by dancing at him and making all her curtseys to him. Before the performance was over he was a gone coon. She pirouetted with a graceful swimming motion, she sank to the ground and lay down flat and rose again to her feet, still balancing the bottle and candle. She changed her dress without the shelter of a vestry, and danced a scarf dance with some other girls, and still the wax taper burned brightly like a star above her forehead. She went through her programme without any sacrifice of modesty—well—taking an Egyptian standard of that attribute. Some mention was made of the wasp dance; in this the *danseuse* pretends that a wasp has got into her clothes, and tears them madly off one after the other. I may mention for the relief of my reader's mind that the wasp is caught before the last garment of all is parted with. The English officers, thirsting for information, and no doubt zealous to pick up facts for the Intelligence Department, threw out several hints to our host to remind the Almehs of this item in their *répertoire*. But



he, mindful that there was a "chiel takin' notes," affected not to hear. Evidently they were on their good behaviour, and meant to be strictly proper and correct.

Next day I crossed the river to make inquiries as to the condition of the peasants on the Plain of Thebes. I did this on the occasion of an expedition to visit the tomb which I had discovered and excavated in 1879.

The district consists of two townlands, containing altogether about 1,500 acres.

The villagers made the following statements:—

"The land-tax varies from P. T. 100 to P. T. 125 per feddan. The land produces only one crop in the year, except where there are water-wheels; there it produces two. The whole plain is covered by the inundation. The produce is 5 ardebs per feddan. The present price here is about P. T. 90 per ardeb.

"Once the entire Plain belonged to us, but about eight years ago the Government took possession of 500 feddans. They themselves fixed the price arbitrarily at £7 per feddan; that is far below its value; but we had to part with our land at that price whether we liked it or not. When the time for payment came the Government made claims against us for arrears of taxes, chiefly Moukabala, and we received nothing.

"Since then they have cultivated part of it themselves, and part of it they have let to the former owners. On the land they kept in their own hands they grew wheat for the army. They cultivated it by means of soldiers, so that no employment was given to the dispossessed owners. For the portions of it they let to us, they charge P. T. 250 per feddan for the best; somewhat less for the inferior quality.

"They in fact charged double the land-tax all round.

“Since this happened there has been a great deal of poverty in our district; many—being no longer able to live here at all—have emigrated to other places. With regard to those who rent portions from the Government, it too often happens that, after digging and sowing the land, they, in the end, get no reward but a beating; this goes on still.”

*Q.* Now?—*A.* Yes, now; 1,000 feddans are still owned by the fellahs.

I asked a girl who accompanied us, carrying a water-bottle on her head, how much land her father owned. She replied, 2 acres. He had once owned 7, but 5 were taken away from him by the Government a few years ago, and now they were very poor. Another villager said the Moukalaba was the cause of his losing his land.

Such is the recent history of the world-renowned Plain of Thebes.

It is to be observed, with reference to this transaction, that the Government, having become possessed of the land by an arbitrary and high-handed proceeding for £7 per acre, have since relet it at more than one-third the fee-simple per annum; and according to the statement of the natives, when the crops do not suffice to pay the high rent, not only is the entire produce distrained, but the unfortunate tenants are beaten as well.

In ordinary good years the crop would be worth £5 per acre; the rent, P. T. 250, would be exactly half of the gross produce, leaving £2 10s. per acre for seed, labour, and other taxes. It is not surprising that there should be in the district a numerous colony of poverty-stricken families residing in the tombs, with which the neighbouring hills are honeycombed.

Earlier in the day the Red Prince had arrived and

visited a few tombs under the guidance of Brugsch Pasha. That learned Professor had fondly hoped to interest H. R. H. in the subjects he loved so well himself. But Egyptology was not at all in the rough soldier's line. He escaped from his Mentor and got back to a sugar-cane brake where he heard there were jackals and wild-cats. He had quite a kennel of hounds with him, and by the help of these and the native beaters he drove out game enough of that sort to make a satisfactory bag. I went to pay my respects to him on board his Nile-boat, but he had not returned from the chase. The quarter-deck was decorated with jackal-skins, trophies of his marksmanship lower down the river. In the evening the Prussian Consulate was festooned with coloured lamps, and a fantasia was held there, at which the dancing-girls did their best ; but whether Herod was pleased or not remained a secret.

There being no wind to carry us forward, we were compelled to remain at Thebes awaiting the mail steamer to tow us ; she arrived on Jan. 22. Esneh is the southernmost province of Egypt Proper, and its capital of the same name is the centre of the last great agricultural district between that and Assouan, with the exception of Edfoo, which we had visited on previous occasions, and were well acquainted with. It was not, therefore, our purpose to proceed beyond Esneh. We arrived there in the evening, and early next morning at daybreak we were awoke by the announcement that the Governor of the city had come to visit us, and was having coffee on the quarter-deck overhead ! This excess of zeal was exceedingly kind but rather inconvenient ; moreover, we suspected that it was of the too civil by

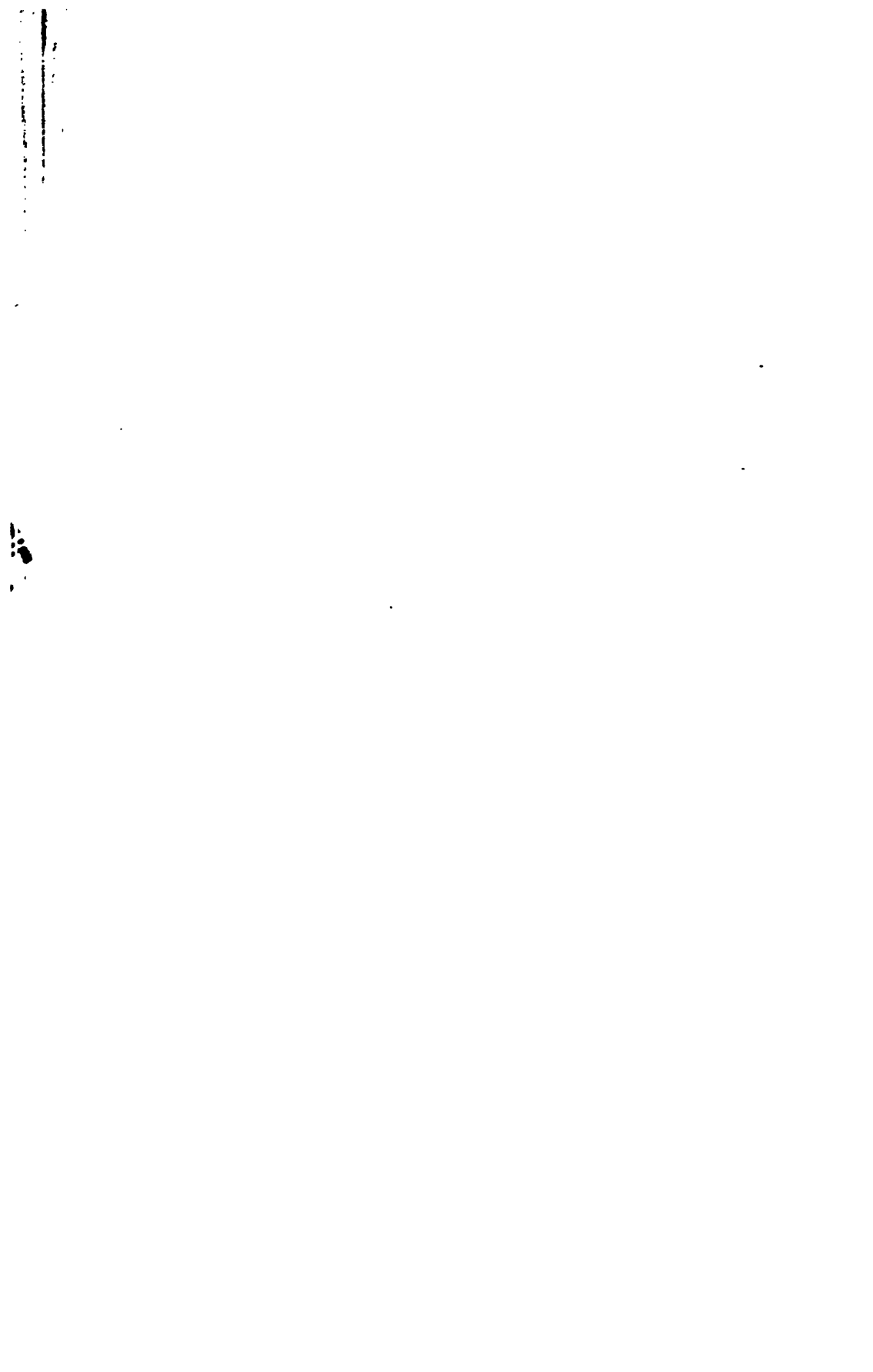
half order, and foresaw that which also came to pass—that no opportunity would be given us for independent inquiry. However, there was no choice but to make the best of it, and to be prodigal in acknowledgments of his Excellency's extreme courtesy. He on his part was profuse in his offers—he would send us down his own special white asses ; he would personally conduct us through the city ; he would send his secretary to escort us in our rides through the country. Ultimately he departed to issue his orders, and we instantly gave him the slip and treacherously got on shore. We passed through the town to the suburbs on the far side, and there found ourselves amid a caravan of wild-looking fellows from the Soudan, who had brought a number of cattle, sheep and camels across the desert for sale. They had come from Darfur, which is well within the tropics, a distance of 350 miles, involving a month's travelling. It will be readily supposed, therefore, that the stock were not prime Christmas beef, in fact, they were mere bags of bones ; the leanest of lean kine. They had large gentle deerlike eyes, like animals who had suffered much ; they resembled the cattle of India, with a tendency to a hump. Of the sheep very little besides the wool was left, and that was long and ragged. They were outlandish - looking animals, whom the denizens of Noah's ark would have repudiated all connection with. The price of a 3-year old camel was £10, of a cow £5.

Their owners looked as if they occasionally did a little slave-hunting. They would no doubt convert their stock into powder, ball, and knives, and their next trip would very likely be to Siout with a consignment of niggers. Thus do they set an example of



A BI-CHARI ARAB FROM THE SOUDAN.

[To face p. 78.]



industry and enterprise, and show the way to earn an honest penny.

Probably they are also fanatical adherents of the Mahdi, for that troublesome personage is in fact the champion of the slave-hunters ; they have staked their cause upon him, and this fact, much more than his religious pretensions, accounts for his influence over them. We asked them the last news of him, which caused them to grin. They added : "*The prophet will not hurt you if you do not meddle with him.*" As wild-looking and picturesque a group as can be imagined. We wished we had had time to sketch them. Not long, however, were we permitted to enjoy our stolen liberty, the Governor was down upon us, and took us in charge thenceforth. After inspecting the town we set out for a ride across country, with his Excellency's secretary at our elbow. We passed through a rich-looking country covered with wheat and beans, and observed that there were many water-wheels, which accounted for the superior fertility, and we continued our route till we reached the desert on the far side. As we approached it the soil evidently grew more sterile, until the cultivation ended in a narrow belt of poor land, on which grew only tufts of coarse halfeh grass, the home of the sand-grouse, the plover, and the trictrac. We then skirted along the outer edge of vegetation till we came to a tract covered with ruined structures of red kiln-burnt bricks, in the midst of which was a Coptic church and monastery of great antiquity. The brick structures were the remains of graves of martyrs, slain during the persecution of Diocletian. Subsequently, the pious Christian Empress Helena built the church in memory of their heroic devotion to the

faith. It is consequently amongst the most ancient in Egypt.

We were admitted into the venerable edifice by means of a large fish-hook, which a native woman, who lived close by, produced as a handy picklock. The sexton was absent, and had taken the key with him. The interior was black with age, and it was with difficulty that we made out frescoes of St. George and the Dragon, which were dimly perceptible through the dark film formed by the smoke of lamps and candles burnt there through a succession of many centuries. Outside, let into the wall, were stones inscribed in Latin with the names of martyred bishops. At the time of the Arab invasion a number of Christians fled hither and were slaughtered by the victorious Moslems; they also were buried beside their more ancient fellow-martyrs. It is a pity that these interesting tombs have been allowed to fall into such utter decay.

On our return journey we passed through one or two large villages which resembled that already described at Meteia. On reaching Esneh we paid a visit to the temple, and saw there, arranged right and left, some mummy gazelles in a wonderful state of preservation, their horns and even their fur being perfect. They reminded us of Is-em-Kheb's pet, which is emblazoned on her funeral canopy. (See the large Plate in pocket of cover.)

Subsequently we called upon the Mudir of the Province, and found him to be an old acquaintance. He has governed Esneh for the last nine years, an unusually long term of office. On hearing us mention the mummy gazelles, he said that they were found in a cavern in the mountains, that there were plenty more,



and that he would send a special messenger to procure some. He presented them to us the following morning, and we ultimately handed them over to the authorities of the Boulak Museum.

The Mudir told me that just before the battle of Tel-el-Kebir, the Christians in the town were in great danger, and that he only saved them by shutting them all up in Government House and putting a strong guard over them, and that even so the mob would have broken in but for the arrival of a telegram announcing Arabi's defeat and the collapse of his power. Other Mahomedan officials in Upper Egypt had made similar statements, and they were confirmed by the Copts themselves.

## CHAPTER XXXII.

**The Daira Saniyeh—Their Extent—Their System of Management—Their Production—Their Cost—A Native Fair—The original Punch and Judy—Champagne Brandy.**

NEXT day the boat of the Red Prince passed on its way down with flag half mast high. H.R.H.'s dragoon informed us that he had just received intelligence of his father's death, and we saluted sympathetically. We took it for granted that he was hastening back to be in time for the funeral, and would stop nowhere, but on reaching Luxor we heard that H.R.H. had sought consolation there by making the very best bag of jackals and wild cats that he had achieved during his whole tour, and that the crowning glory of the day's sport had been a wolf. The party had left for Cairo on the morning of our return.

While in Upper Egypt we visited some sugar estates, the names of which we purposely omit. They formed part of the Daira Saniyeh.

These were formerly the private property of the late Khedive, but he became involved in financial embarrassments and made them over to his European creditors, *i.e.*, they are administered by a Commission consisting of a European director and two European controllers. These estates amount in all to about 450,000 acres, chiefly confiscated from the peasants in various ways, and on various pretences. They are distinct from the State Domains, which also have an administration of

their own ; both of them represent an enormous amount of injustice, tyranny, and oppression ; their acquisition has inflicted a lasting injury on Egypt ; and never was there a better illustration of the saying, " Ill got ill gone." The only people who now profit by these transactions are the European bondholders. The Daira Sanîyeh estates are mortgaged to the enormous amount of £9,512,800, or about £21 per acre, bearing interest now at 4 per cent. This involves a payment in the shape of interest of only about 16s. 8d. per acre, and yet, owing to some inscrutable mismanagement, there is a constant deficit. What makes this result the more extraordinary, is that most, if not all, of these lands are privileged, and only pay from one-third to one-half the usual land-tax at which ordinary lands are assessed. Yet the gross produce of these lands is very large and valuable, as will be presently seen.

About 50,000 acres annually are under cane, and produce, according to some estimates, half a million, according to others three-quarters of a million sterling, or from £10 to £15 per acre. In the hands of private cultivators the produce would be, according to native evidence, fully one-third larger. (See Chap. XXVII., p. 270.)

The gross produce of the remaining nine-tenths, under cereals, cotton, &c., ought to be at the rate of between £4 and £5 per acre—that is the lowest that it would return in the hands of the fellahs, and when it is remembered that these Daira estates constitute the very best land in Middle and Upper Egypt, it is clear that £5 per acre would not be too high an estimate. The 400,000 acres, therefore, not under sugar, ought, at the lowest estimate of £4 per acre, to yield £2,000,000 a year, and at £5 per acre, £2,400,000 a year.

But what is the actual return? Mr. Sandars states in his carefully prepared report that the gross value of the general crops, exclusive of sugar, amounted only to £500,000, *i.e.*, 25s. per acre! or less than the land-tax! The difference between what these lands do produce, and what they ought to produce, is no less than from £1,500,000 to £1,900,000 per annum. It is probable, when the quality of the land and the facilities for irrigation are taken into account, that the difference is considerably greater than even the highest sum named.

Thus there is lost to the community annually, by the substitution of wholesale State farming for the "petit culture" of the peasants, from a million and a half to two millions a year. The wholesale expropriation of the fellahs has reduced them to destitution without enriching the State. They produce—

50,000,000 lbs. of sugar, worth at $2\frac{1}{2}d.$	
per lb. . . . .	£520,750*
Other products at £4 per acre <i>ought</i>	
to be worth about . . . . .	2,000,000
	<hr/>
Total . . . . .	£2,520,750

How then is it that they fail to pay an annual interest of less than £400,000 a year? and that there is an annual deficit to be made up out of the general revenues of Egypt?

If the above amount is produced, what becomes of it? It cannot be all absorbed by working expenses. If it is not produced, why is it not? Who will put his finger upon the loose screw?

Be it remembered that if land of that quality were in

\* Mr. Sandars values the sugar at £700,000

the hands of the fellahs, they would be required to pay out of it at least £1 7s. per acre land-tax, besides other taxes; they would have to find the cost of seed, of cultivation, of irrigation, besides clothing and maintaining themselves and their families. In the hands of the State, with all its costly machinery and its expensive managing staff, even its controllers with their £2500 a year apiece, down to the assistant engineers with 10s. per week, the *gross* produce accounted for is less than £1 7s. per acre—less than the land-tax, less than two ardebs of grain per feddan!

I am now speaking of the nine-tenths not under sugar. I have already pointed out that even the remaining tenth under sugar, although presenting the apparently respectable return of £10 or £15 per acre, produces only half as much as it would do in the hands of peasant proprietors.

Then what about the interest on capital invested in the plant—the 300 miles of field railways, the army of locomotives and trucks, the costly factory engines, the pumping engines—items on which more than three millions were spent? The interest on these, calculated at 10 per cent.—the minimum which could include wear and tear, amounts to £300,000 a year. How much does that leave out of the miserably low gross productions? Why, not 5s. per acre!

The gain to the State would be unquestionable if the whole of the estates were *given* away to any one willing to pay the land-tax, for then there would be a *net* revenue of £600,000 from the 450,000 acres, or £200,000 beyond the interest due to bondholders.

On landing at one of the sugar factories, we found that there was a fair going on under an avenue of

tamarinds close by. The dealers sat under the trees with their wares before them, fruit and vegetables in one quarter, cotton and calicos in another, native woollen stuffs, robes, rugs, cloth, &c., in a third; there was also a cattle fair, sheep, buffalos, camels, and donkeys. There were *al fresco* coffee stalls, and a booth, within which sounds of very noisy music could be heard, the drum predominating. We entered, and were much amused on finding that it was an Arab Punch and Judy show; but Punch wore a turban, and Judy a yashmak. The former perpetrated a series of enormities, and ended by tearing off Judy's veil during a family squabble; after this, he became a perfect desperado, and on the Mahmoud (chief Magistrate of the district), got up in the official tarboosh and blue frock-coat, arriving attended by a retinue of cawasses armed with sticks, he knocked that redoubtable personage head over heels, amid the vociferous applause of the assembled fellaheen. Punch Pasha's popularity was now at its height, and much sympathy was felt for him when his career terminated by being hanged on the pole of a shadoof.

It was really a very clever and lively performance. I turned to the inspector of the factory, who was with me, and said, "I suppose they have borrowed this from Europe?" "Borrowed it from Europe!" exclaimed he; "why, it was performed in the East before Europe was thought of!" So our dear old Punch is, after all, but a degenerate version of an Egyptian play.

One feature of the place was, I am sorry to say, Greek drinking-shops, supplied with the raw spirit distilled from molasses, coloured, sweetened, and scented. This most abominable compound was sold at two francs a bottle as the finest French Champagne Brandy!

## CHAPTER XXXIII.

A Sugar Factory—"A Category that gets no pay"—Egyptian Micawbers—Statement of Factory Hands—Sugar making—A Ride across the Estate—Effects of the Rebellion—A Recruiting Scene—Distressing Incidents—Statistics—The question of the Privileged Lands.

WHILE in the factory I found I had no chance of questioning the hands myself, I therefore instructed some of the crew who accompanied me as escort, to get into conversation with them and report their statements afterwards.

I observed that men armed with sticks were stationed at every door of exit from the building to prevent any of the hands leaving. I observed also those who were off duty lying on the pavement getting what sleep they could amid the whirr of wheels and the din of the machinery. The heat was that of the stoke-hole of a Red Sea steamer, owing to the furnaces and the boiling sugar. The official who accompanied us said that now there was no forced labour, that the men were paid regularly and treated well, that consequently the service was so popular with them that they deemed it quite a misfortune to be dismissed, and much more to the same purpose. He was in the act of demonstrating that it was a perfect Paradise upon earth, when the flow of his eloquence was interrupted by a naked man rushing out at a side-door and throwing himself before him: the only article of dress he wore was a felt skull-cap on his head and a piece of cotton the size of a pocket-handker-

chief tied round his hips and passing between his legs. He was smeared with treacle all over, arms and chest, feet, legs, and thighs; he said he had received no pay for ten days, and had nothing to eat. The inspector could not conceal his annoyance at this malapropos apparition and the comment it offered to his picture of a contented peasantry voluntarily abandoning their own farms, and eager to spend their lives in making sugar for the bondholders! A clerk was summoned and asked how it came that this man's wages were withheld. "Oh," said the clerk, "he belongs to a category that gets no pay; he is allowed as much treacle as he likes!" "Pay him immediately," said the inspector; and accordingly some piastres were thrust into his hand, which he immediately transferred to his mouth, having no other pocket, and he was hastily hustled out of sight to the place whence he came. I hope that the piastres were not supplemented by the courbash behind the scenes. Cairo is afar off, and no cry is likely to reach the ears of the European officials there. Like the gods pictured by the Stoics—*securum agunt ævum*—they do not belong to a category that get no pay—they get their £2,500 a year punctually, and no one could be so unreasonable as to expect that they would spend their time on board a Nile boat patrolling the Provinces, and seeing to the carrying out of their own orders.

The official foolscap is automatic. Who could dream of the instructions they contain being quietly ignored by native bureaucrats hundreds of miles away? When the immortal Micawber had neatly docketed his bills he lived under the happy delusion that he had paid them; so do the great European office-holders of Cairo imagine that when their papal rescript has been launched



against some old-standing abuse in the Provinces, it has ceased to exist, and they listen with incredulity and displeasure to any stray traveller who, having seen with his own eyes, reports that the said abuse still flourishes as a vigorous evergreen, and has not yet collapsed before the foolscap thunderbolt. Forced labour in the factories has been abolished on paper, but in Upper Egypt it is still in full swing. While the inspector was telling me of glad hearts and willing hands, the victims themselves were telling my crew a very different story. Here is their statement :—

“We are taken by force to work on the sugar estates and in the factories. Not one of us would go willingly. We would all leave to-morrow if we could. Many of us have farms of our own ; we are taken away from them, and the farms are neglected. Nominally we are paid P. T.  $1\frac{1}{2}$  to P. T. 2 per day, but it passes through the hands of the Sheiks, and they stop most of it on different pretexts—arrears of taxes, and what not.

“Those of us who work inside the factory are kept there day and night. Each man works six hours at a time, and is then relieved, but he is not allowed to leave the factory lest he should run away. The work is carried on day and night for three months. The men off duty must sleep on the stone pavement of the factory, amid the noise and heat. Each man works twelve hours out of the twenty-four, in alternate shifts of six hours.”

In 1879 we were witnesses of the following incident at one of the sugar factories. While we were there there was a sudden commotion, and we found that one of the men had fallen from a gallery and was mortally injured ; he was carried out in a dying state. On emerging we inquired for him, and were shocked to find

him lying in the sun and covered with flies—left there to die like a dog. No man had had the charity to moisten his lips or to carry him into the shade, or to fan the flies away, or to alleviate his sufferings in any way. We indignantly appealed to the overseer, and did not leave until we had seen him made as comfortable as his condition would permit. Poor fellow ! his emancipation did not seem to be very distant. His wife and children in some far-off village will await his return in vain when his term of forced labour has expired, and unless by chance they will never know what his fate has been. We fanned his face and spoke to him, but he appeared scarcely conscious.

We were assured that the victims of the *corvée* are often, when their term is up, left to find their way home, perhaps two or three hundred miles off, as best they can—not unfrequently they never return at all.

Since then matters have improved, even in Upper Egypt. The men are detained for a shorter term, and, as a rule, they do get some pay ; while in Middle Egypt, where the factories are accessible by rail, and are therefore occasionally visited by European officials, forced labour really has ceased. But this very fact illustrates the point on which I insist, that no reform can be effected in Egypt except under the eyes of Europeans, and the cheapest way of obtaining this supervision would be to appoint three travelling commissioners, whose duty it should be to pass from province to province and from district to district enquiring into everything, and having authority to report at head-quarters, in case of abuse of power, even the highest Turkish provincial administrators.

Sydney Smith recommended Gig Bishops as the only means of reforming the abuses of the Anglican clergy ;

and there is very much stronger reason for mobilizing European control in Egypt.

It would be unjust to blame the Controllers at Cairo for these miscarriages, because from the nature of their duties they are detained at head-quarters, and could not spend much of their time in visiting the provinces. When Sir F. G., however, heard my report on the forced labour abuse, he was greatly distressed. He is a gentleman whose kindness of heart is only equalled by his ability, and he immediately set off for Upper Egypt, personally to see to the redress of the forced labour grievance. The cause of the miscarriage of reforms must be attributed to the absence of any machinery for enforcing them, such as would be supplied by commissioners whose special business it should be to visit every district in Egypt and see to the carrying out of the orders from head-quarters.

It would be a mistake to be too squeamish about interfering with the Turkish governors of Egypt, for they have hitherto abused their power, neglected their duties, and have cruelly oppressed and misgoverned the people for their own selfish purposes. The cry of Egypt for the Egyptians is very misleading; really it means Egypt for the Turks, Egypt for the bureaucrats, Egypt for the small minority of office holders who have hitherto preyed upon her vitals and betrayed the interests of her population for their own benefit.

The Government sugar-making is a very clean process except at one stage. The cane is crushed between rollers, the syrup is boiled and concentrated in closed vessels; it is then run into open vats to cool and crystallize. When cool, the perspiring natives enter the vats shovel in hand and throw it out by spadefuls,

standing up to their knees in the mixture. Those who have witnessed this proceeding are likely to lose their faith in brown sugar, and to prefer the whitest they can procure.

When it leaves the vats it is a mixture of sugar crystals and uncrystallizable molasses. In this state it is conveyed along a miniature railway in trucks and thrown into cylinders, the sides of which are perforated. As soon as these are charged they commence revolving at the rate of several hundred times per minute, and the treacle is thus forced outwards by centrifugal action, and exudes through the perforated sides. When the process is complete, sugar crystals alone remain in the cylinders, pure, white, and perfectly dry; the treacle flows along channels in the floor and finds its way into reservoirs. It is sold to the natives under the name of "black honey;" some of it is also distilled, forming a raw fiery spirit as clear as spring water. This is sold to the Greeks at a franc per quart; they dilute, colour, and flavour it, and sell it at two francs a quart as best cognac. I fear a good deal of this deleterious stuff is consumed by our troops.

Nothing can be more perfect or better ordered than the operations of these factories; the only plague spot in them is the forced labour.

The inspector lent me a horse, and accompanied me over the estate. I inspected several of these, but they are all alike, and the description of one will serve for all. The one I speak of contains 14,000 acres; of these, 1250 only are under sugar; the rest was under cereals. Irrigation is carried on by a pair of engines of 120-horse-power each. These suffice to water 1250 acres of cane and no more: the remainder of the estate gets

no irrigation, but is entirely dependent upon the inundation which is allowed to overflow and rest upon it. The whole estate is embanked, and the section that happens to be under sugar is carefully guarded against the inundation, for if that entered it would be fatal to the crop ; but the banks of the remainder, destined for cereals, are cut and the water admitted. There is an enormous disparity between the two sections ; the latter only produces one crop of cereals annually—worth £5 per acre : the former produces a crop of sugar worth £20 per acre. An acre of cane produces on an average a ton of sugar, worth £20. The 1250 acres therefore would produce in ordinary years £25,000. I visited other estates of 18,000, 20,000, and 30,000 acres respectively ; the proportion of sugar production is about the same in all, viz. less than one-tenth. The cultivation of this one-tenth part is enormously profitable, but the profit is counterbalanced by the defective yield of the other nine-tenths, owing to the want of irrigation ; the whole irrigating power is devoted to sugar, for that pays best, and the sugar production is limited by the pumping power. Sugar-cane is almost a marsh plant, and requires more water than any other crop except, perhaps, rice.

It would not exhaust the soil if the ash of the cane-straw consumed as fuel were returned to it. The sugar itself takes scarcely anything out of the soil ; it is a hydrate of carbon, *i.e.*, a combination of water and carbon with an infinitesimally small percentage of ash. The carbon is derived from the carbonic acid of the atmosphere, which is decomposed by solar power in the leaves of the plant ; the water comes from the Nile, the minute proportion of ash alone from the soil. If

sufficient irrigation existed, and if the ash of the cane were carefully restored to the soil, sugar could be grown every alternate year on the same soil, and one-half instead of one-tenth of these estates could be under sugar. This would result in an enormous increase in the profits ; the total annual sugar production of all the estates is now about 35,000 to 40,000 tons, worth about £700,000, according to Sandars' estimate, but with sufficient irrigating power it could be at least trebled. The proportion of the estates not irrigated would be far more productive in the hands of the peasantry ; the present system is a dead loss to the country, diminishing alike its population and its production. I would suggest the selling to the Fellaheen in small lots, by degrees, three-fourths of each of these estates ; the remaining fourth is as much as can be profitably cultivated with its present pumping power on the factory system.

We rode over miles of country, and followed the course of the canal, fed by steam-power. Steam ploughing was going on. I saw many of these machines at work, the engineers being all native Egyptians, who seem to have an aptitude for managing machinery, which proves their intelligence. The estate is also intersected by field railways traversed by locomotives, and long trains of trucks which bring the cane and other produce to the factory or the waterside. These field railways meander about all over the estate upon the entire Daira property. There is railway enough to reach from Sonakim to Berber, and solve the Central African problem by opening up the heart of that continent to commerce, and thus terminating the slave trade. Would that their cost had been so applied !

We had to climb many banks, and to descend into many dry canal beds as we rode along.

The inspector told me that the rebellion had caused a diminution in the production of fully one-third, because the men had run away by hundreds to avoid Arabi's conscription. For ten men he secured, 100 deserted to the mountains or the desert ; irrigation was consequently neglected, and the crops suffered, and this was the case not only with the estates, but also with the lands cultivated by peasant proprietors. With regard to the latter a permanent injury has been done by exacting the full amount of the land-tax last year. The circumstances of the rebellion had deprived them of the means of meeting the tax, except by mortgaging their land and their crops ; the bondholders have, it is true, got their pound of flesh, but at what cost ? Their security has been injured seriously by further impairing the means of an already exhausted and over-taxed population. It would have been to the ultimate interest of the creditors to have sacrificed at least half of last autumn's coupon, and had the matter been placed fairly before them I cannot help thinking that policy, if not humanity, would have prompted them to consent. They do not know at what a cruel cost that coupon was met, or how much of their dividends was extorted by chains and the courbash.

In the course of our ride we came to a village where recruiting was going on. The victims were assembled outside a building, within which they were medically examined one by one ; at the door was a standard measure of height, and that was the last test they underwent. They were surrounded by a great crowd of relatives, mothers, sisters, wives ; whenever a recruit

passed all the tests, cries of anguish rose from these poor creatures. They threw themselves into each other's arms, wailing and lamenting as if their hearts would break—they threw dust upon their heads—they plastered their faces with mud, they gave way to the most touching manifestations of grief, for they regarded each man taken for military service as lost to them for ever. He would be taken, they thought, to the Soudan, to die of fever or to be slain by the Mahdi—to be cheated of his pay, half starved and ill-used; at all events never to return to them more.

A group of Turkish officers stood by at this distressing scene—chatting, and laughing, and seeming to view the whole thing as a good joke. The mourners were not all women; there were old and middle-aged men come to see the last of sons and grandsons, and they were squatting on the ground, many of them smoking; their grief was less demonstrative than that of the women, but the tears that stole down the worn features of many of them told their silent tale. Let us hope that under the auspices of Sir Evelyn Wood the conditions of military service in Egypt may be so ameliorated that it may no longer be regarded as the dreaded scourge it now is by the natives.

I here met my old friend the Mudir of Esneh, and took final leave of him. We now set out on our way back to the factory, and in passing the cane plantation I had an opportunity of seeing how it is cut. The operators are armed with heavy hoes, with which they chop off the cane close to the ground, and they get on much faster than, with such an awkward implement, one would have thought possible. The inspector told me that formerly they used long knives for the purpose, but



they fought and stabbed each other with these so, that hoes were substituted. This work is contracted for by Sheiks of villages, who make a good thing out of it at the expense of the poor fellaheen. The Sheiks are allowed 4 francs per acre—little enough—for the cane stems are thicker than a broomstick, hard and tough. But the men get much less than this, for they complained to my crew that they were cheated, their ignorance being taken advantage of to make them cut an acre and a half for the price of an acre.

The inspector showed me how cane is planted—a certain proportion of the canes are reserved for seed, and are buried flat lengthways in the ground in rows. From every joint a shoot springs up and becomes a new plant.

The management of these estates is characterized by much neatness and order. I must admit that, although there is much in the system which I abhor, the cultivation is carried on with admirable method and organization; the discipline is perfect—too perfect.

We have heard of the annual deficit which has to be made up out of imperial funds, frequently referred to, but it is difficult to realize, when viewing the enormous piles of sugar bags in the store rooms and court yards or while standing on one of the vast lofts in which the sugar is spread out, forming a Sahara in which glittering saccharine crystals take the place of sand, that the concern does not pay. With one's eyes one beholds profuse wealth; around one, in scales and in bulk, is collected £30,000 or £40,000 worth of property in the concrete form, while further investigation bears in on one's mind the irresistible conclusion that all these riches represent a serious waste and loss. But one's eyesight would second the conclusions of one's mind, if

two mountains could be piled—the one of what is actually produced by State cultivation, the other of what is produced on an equal amount of land of equal quality by peasant proprietors ; for the proportion would be as Snowdon to Mont Blanc. I believe, however, that under an improved system, as above explained, the area of the estates might be greatly reduced, the profits being at the same time doubled.

One gigantic abuse with regard to these Daira lands is that though they comprise some of the best soil in Egypt, they are privileged and pay less than half their proportion of land-tax. They pay altogether about £150,000 on about 450,000 acres, whereas at the very lowest they ought to pay fully £500,000. The deficit falls upon the already overtaxed Fellaheen. This injustice is deeply resented by them, and was a constant topic of complaint.

I believe I am right in saying that the same is the case with the State domains, as also with the great properties belonging to influential Pashas.

The natives complained to me repeatedly of the partial exemption from taxation enjoyed by these Ousuri or privileged lands. The Ousuri (tithe) lands were originally so named because at the Mahommedan invasion they were assigned to the followers of the Prophet, and paid only one-tenth as a land-tax. But they have since wandered far away from their first purpose, and have lost their original character. The history of the present exemptions is very various ; the subject is surrounded with difficulty and intricacy, and the obstacles to dealing with it are formidable. Still sooner or later these must be faced.

Some of the lands owe their privilege to the fact that

they were reclaimed conditionally upon being taxed at a lower rate. Almost all of them have been dealt with on the basis of these exemptions, to the abolition of which energetic resistance would be made by the great land-owners.

Additional taxation to the extent of £150,000 per annum has been imposed upon them already, and with this precedent, steps in the direction of equality of assessment may hereafter prove practicable; but the lands which can be proved to have been reclaimed from the desert under special pledge of exemption would in any case be entitled to retain their exemption or to have it redeemed on equitable terms.

The total amount of these lands extends to 1,300,000 feddans, and is distributed among all the Provinces throughout Egypt as follows :—

Province.	Acreage.	Average of Ousouri tax for each Province.	
Minoufieh . .	25,973 . .	92	P. T.
Galmbieh . .	36,665 . .	90	„
Behera . .	178,443 . .	44	„
Garbieh . .	338,178 . .	59	„
Dakahlieh . .	147,709 . .	64	„
Sharkieh . .	156,118 . .	63	„
Ghireh . .	32,938 . .	48	„
Beni Souef . .	57,819 . .	38½	„
Fayoum . .	111,099 . .	27½	„
Minieh . .	139,965 . .	40	„
Assiout . .	27,171 . .	48½	„
Esneh . .	35,622 . .	32½	„
Keneh . .	21,870 . .	32	„
Girgeh . .	23,851 . .	40	„
<u>1,332,431</u>			

—giving an average for each Province of about 51 P. T. per feddan, the ordinary lands paying from 100 to 164 (on an average about 135 P. T.). The privileged rate of taxation varies from  $6\frac{1}{2}$  P. T. to 77 P. T., adding thereto 29 P. T. and a fraction imposed by the £150,000 which was added to the general rate paid by the Oushouri lands yearly from 1880 by Sir Rivers Wilson, then Minister of Egyptian Finance. These estates may be placed under two categories. First, those that belong to the Pashas and other wealthy private individuals; secondly, those that belong to the State and to the Khedive and his family.

The chief portion of those privileged lands which are justly entitled to exemption as having been reclaimed subject to that condition, are those in the Province of Behera. The obstacles to the redress of the serious grievance I have been explaining are:—

1st. That the great bulk of these lands are pledged to European creditors of several different nationalities; that their dividends are secured to them at a fixed minimum rate by international conventions; that Egypt is bound by these conventions to supplement out of general revenue any deficit in the dividends from the Daira, Saniyeh, and State domains; that the levying of the ordinary rate of taxation would diminish the dividends or, if the land were sold, would diminish the selling value of the lands.

Secondly, that the portions not so affected are the private property of powerful and influential Pashas, who would make every possible resistance to a reform which would compel them to pay the same tax as their poorer fellow-subjects do. Notwithstanding those obstacles I am convinced that the equalization of the

land-tax is an indispensable step towards both the financial and the political regeneration of the country. The taxation of the lands in the second category could not be effected without the taxation of the first, but if the taxation of the first would gain nothing for the State, nothing also would be lost; on the other hand the taxation of those in the first category would make an important and much needed addition to the revenues of the State, and would remove a serious cause of popular discontent besides.

But by improved administration I am convinced that the Daira estates might be made to cover the dividends, even after paying the increased land-tax. That there is plenty of room for improvement the following summary will show.

It is clear from what I have already stated that there must be some gross mismanagement—either large tracts are left fallow or there is wholesale embezzlement. It would require a continued residence on the spot for many months to get at the truth. Under the factory system the sugar alone is profitable; one-tenth of the land alone is profitable, the other nine-tenths produce less than the ordinary rate of land-tax! If in native hands it would make at least from £4 to £5 per acre, and would make a vast addition besides both to the numbers and prosperity of the population of Upper and Middle Egypt.

But in the meanwhile the only hope of making the Daira pay its way, would be to appoint *resident* English managers of high character to every one of them.

## CHAPTER XXXIV.

Return to Luxor—General Conclusions—Reforms suggested.

ON my return to Thebes, I sent to head-quarters the last of my reports, which was in time for the opening of Parliament. I subsequently continued my investigations and embodied the results in a supplementary report. Up to the time of my return to Luxor I had held forty-four inquiries in the Delta, and nearly fifty in Upper Egypt. I subsequently held nineteen more, making 103 in all.

The following is a summary of the conclusions to which I came, and of the recommendations that were suggested by the evidence collected during my tour in Upper Egypt.

The most obvious fact that met me everywhere in the southern Provinces is that the population is pauperized to a serious extent, to such an extent as to deprive them of the means of developing the resources of their land; numbers are living at starvation point, their reserve funds drained away and exhausted.

The consequences of one single low Nile would therefore be famine, and many would perish.

There is this broad distinction between the thriving population of the Delta and the poverty-stricken population of the south, that the one draw two or three crops annually from their land, the other, with scanty exceptions, only one.

In the south there is also a floating pauper population of men who have been deprived of their land, and who have no resource but to become cottier tenants, at ruinous rack-rents, like the conacre men in Ireland. The following is a skeleton sketch of the causes of the existing pauperism :—

1. Extreme over-taxation during the late reign.
2. Over-taxation in a lesser degree at present.
3. Arbitrary confiscation of their lands on a large scale during the late reign ; numbers were thus reduced from the *status* of proprietors to that of tenants.
4. The merciless rack-renting of these tenants.
5. The wholesale withdrawal of the bread-winners of families for forced labour on public works.
6. Similar withdrawals for forced labour on the Daira Saniyeh ; this abuse is in course of extinction, but has not yet quite ceased.
7. Imprisonment of able-bodied fellahs, because some army recruit, relative of theirs, has deserted ; this abuse still continues, it is going on at this moment.
8. The withdrawal of men of mature age, and having families dependent on them, for service in the army, substitutes not being allowed.
9. Borrowing at ruinous rates of interest to make cash payments for the land, sheep, date palm, and salt taxes.
10. Borrowing for the same purpose, at ruinous interest, in another form, viz., by pawning their crops in advance, at 50 per cent. discount.
11. The exacting of such unwise and impolitic taxes on production as date and sheep taxes, whereby they are prevented from availing themselves as fully as they

otherwise would of the valuable food supply offered by the date palm, and of the profit derivable from sheep.

12. The salt tax is often the last straw that breaks them down.

13. Being exhausted and poverty-stricken from all these causes, they cannot afford water-wheels ("sakiyehs"), although they are as necessary for cultivation here as ploughs, harrows, and spades are in Europe; they are thus driven to the wasteful and utterly insufficient expedient of irrigation by hand ("shadoofs").

14. Imperfect and unscientific canal system; owing to this last cause, the production of Upper Egypt is reduced certainly by one-half, and probably by very much more.

A great deal of petty tyranny and of mischievous abuse of administration is still going on, and I regret to add that the native Egyptian officials are not one whit more honest or trustworthy, or considerate to their fellow-countrymen over whom their power extends, than those of Turkish race.

I venture to add my views as to the remedies for existing evils.

1. Over-taxation may be removed best by increasing the productiveness of the land by irrigation; taxes now oppressive would then, as in the Delta, become light and easily met. Improved irrigation could be supplied immediately, by helping the cultivators to establish wells with water-wheels attached. Loans at 10 per cent. would enable them to do this. The cost of well and water-wheel is about £30; each wheel would double



the production of about 10 acres, and would repay the prime cost in the first year.

Besides this, all existing canals should be deepened and linked together upon scientific principles.

2. Every means should be taken to restore their lands to the dispossessed cultivators; the confiscations have been recent, every fellah who has lost his land becomes a pauper; his only resource is to hire land, and that he can only do at a merciless rack-rent, which leaves him no margin to live upon. It leaves him in such chronic poverty that a low Nile makes famine certain.

If the contemplated sale of State Domains and of the Daira Saniyeh be carried out, I trust they may be sold in small lots to the fellahs, and payment by annual instalments be accepted. If these lands be purchased by middle-men in large lots, they will be re-let at rack-rents, and much evil will result.

3. By reforming the abuses of forced labour on canals and other public works. I have suggested the needful reforms in this Department, in detail, in my previous remarks on this subject. I am convinced that the same amount of work might be done by one-fourth the number of men if they were furnished with proper tools instead of having to excavate with their fingers; 50 per cent. of the cultivators are now withdrawn from their farms for forced labour; if these reforms were effected, 15 per cent. would suffice.

4. The vicarious punishment of whole families for the fault of one member, as when a recruit deserts, ought not to be permitted.

5. Instead of exacting cash payments for taxes, before cultivators have realised their crops, and thus forcing

them to borrow at ruinous rates, or to sell their crops in advance at 50 per cent. discount, let them be given credit, charging, say, at the rate of 10 per cent. per annum for the postponement, and let them pay when they have, in the ordinary course, sold their crops, and have the cash in hand, or let district loan banks under Government auspices be established as previously recommended.

6. Let a shorter service system for the army be introduced, so that men may return to their agricultural occupations when about 30 years of age. Let the payment of substitutes be allowed. .

7. To check abuses of administration, European supervision in some form is indispensable. I suggest travelling inspectors or commissioners, whose duty it should be, not to spend their time in Cairo, but to spend it in passing from district to district and inquiring into the carrying out of reforms, the suppression of abuses, the administration of justice, the honest collection of taxes, the economical management of the Daira and State Domains, &c.

One of the most pressing necessities is the purification of the Native Courts of Justice. It is not new codes that are required so much as the honest administration of such codes as do exist.

The placing of a European judge in each Native Court was an excellent scheme, but it is greatly to be regretted that the judges chosen for the purpose were not selected from the India Civil Service. Thence men could have been appointed accustomed to deal with Orientals—used to their wiles and deceitful ways—trained to the knowledge of Oriental languages ; these would have been

the right men in the right place. No other class would have been so well qualified to deal with the difficulties that must await them in the discharge of their new functions.

Belgian lawyers, however worthy and upright, cannot possibly possess the qualifications or the needful training. Nor can the necessary experience be acquired within a brief period. Then it is much to be lamented that French rather than English should have been made the alternative language in the Native Courts.

The natives, so far as they know any language besides their own, often have a smattering of English. It is much more familiar to them than French. Moreover the selection of the latter is calculated to produce upon their minds doubts as to our ascendancy, and to place an additional difficulty in the way of English employés.

Experience ought to have convinced us of the inconveniences of dual control. The appointment of Belgian lawyers is a step towards reviving them again. By concessions we may spoil our reforms, but we shall not conciliate the French, who are sore at the mistake they themselves made and at our being in sole occupation, and no modifications of detail in our proceedings will remove their irritation.

I am not an advocate for annexation, nor for a permanent garrison. My earnest desire is to see the population of Egypt emancipated from their bondage, and rendered independent and self-governing. But the more thorough our measures, the sooner will the goal be attained, and the sooner shall we be able to leave them to take care of themselves.

I venture to think that the best way to strike at the roots of corruption and maladministration, is to

strengthen the hands of the Khedive, to enable him to control the Pashas, and protect the people from oppression, and to govern through His Highness by the instrumentality of a Political Resident, of the highest standing and administrative ability that can be found to accept the post.

I fear that any scheme of representative government prematurely introduced, must weaken the Khedive, and throw increased power into the hands of the dominant caste who have already so shamefully abused it. It should be postponed until the people are educated to take care of themselves and to prevent the old abuses. The development of a healthy public opinion is the best security against that. At present no such thing exists in Egypt.

When the European Powers understand that a course which may appear high-handed, is adopted as the best way of shortening our military occupation by qualifying the people of Egypt to govern themselves, they will not oppose our policy, because the result we aim at is for the best interests of all Europe.

We are responsible for the success of our intervention. Half measures will not do if we are to succeed—our reforms will never be carried out by the Pashas. In their hearts they are all reactionary. We must for a time take matters into our own hands, or else we shall fail ignominiously.

My sympathies are with the oppressed classes in Egypt, *i.e.*, the great mass of the population, and it is because I long to see them emancipated from their bondage that I advocate the taking of the government out of the hands of those who have so shamefully abused their power. England has now a grand opportunity—if she

makes good use of it in Egypt she will have fulfilled a noble mission. And an Egypt emancipated from the slavery of centuries, and regenerated, will become the proudest trophy of her championship of liberty and enlightenment. But half measures will not do ; putting a few new patches on an old garment will not do—the rents will be made worse ; if we mean to succeed we must not trust our work to natives or foreigners ; we must govern Egypt through Englishmen for a time. If we try prematurely to force representative institutions upon Egypt before it is prepared for them, before the people are educated to protect them from abuse, to know their rights and guard them, we shall but establish an oligarchy. We shall only be shuffling the old pack, and dealing out the old cards in a somewhat different order. The old predatory class will still be uppermost, and their old victims will still be under their feet.

England may feel tempted to exclaim with Hamlet—

“ The time is out of joint :—O cursed spite,  
That ever I was born to set it right ! ”

But manifest destiny has imposed that task upon her so far as Egypt is concerned, and it will not do for her to turn back now.

But in order to carry out any scheme of reform in Egypt, it is absolutely necessary that the British military occupation should continue until the new methods have taken root. It would be a national disgrace, if having once put our hand to the plough, we were now to turn back and abandon the noble mission we have undertaken. We have assumed a very grave responsibility. We have dislocated such government as did exist. We dethroned Ismaïl, we invited

his successor to lay aside his despotic power, and to become a constitutional sovereign, governing through Ministers. We have broken in pieces the rod of iron, and have put nothing reliable in its place. If we leave now, we shall have substituted for the despotism of one man, the despotism of a score of oligarchs. The reign of the Thirty Tyrants at Athens is not an encouraging example of that form of government. It was clear to me that the bands of discipline were altogether relaxed, and that every provincial magnate was doing much as he pleased, and cared nothing for the central authority.

We threw our sword into the scale; we interfered by force to prevent anarchy or military despotism under Arabi; if we now prematurely withdraw our sword, we leave confusion worse confounded, and ensure the setting in of the very disorder we undertook to prevent.

Do not let it be for one moment supposed, that if the pressure of our garrison be removed even from Cairo to Alexandria that our hoped-for reform would advance another inch. Orientals do not believe in a power they do not see. The Turkish oligarchy that now holds the threads of government in its hands, are opposed as one man to all reform; no reform will make any progress if we are not on the spot to push it, and push it by vigorous and continued pressure.

I have every reason personally to like the Turkish governors. I have received nothing but civility at their hands; socially they are most courteous and obliging, but when the welfare and happiness of some millions of people are in question, it is my duty to speak plainly. The Turkish ruling caste are every one of them determinately hostile to all reform. No matter how

plausibly they may talk, no matter what zeal for reform they may affect—the moment our backs are turned they will oppose to all reform the arts of obstruction in which they are such adepts, and relapse into the misgovernment and oppression of the past.

It is not necessary that a large garrison be maintained in Egypt. As long as a nucleus of our force remains there, we can, within a few days, increase it, if necessary, to any extent the emergency may require, but if we withdraw altogether, it will be a serious matter to begin anew a military occupation.

As for the dangers that menace the country if we do now withdraw, I have not met with a single European resident of standing and experience, who has not declared that if our garrison were to depart, he would not leave his family in Egypt for a week.

It is too readily taken for granted that the fellahs are so docile and unresisting that no revolt need be apprehended. Speaking, however, not from an experience of a few months, but from an acquaintance with them extending over more than a quarter of a century, I assert that there is a latent tiger in their composition ready to come to the surface when some agitator may touch the right key ; history confirms this view. Under the Pharaohs, the Assyrians, the Persians, the Ptolemies, the Romans, and in later times, under the Mamelukes, revolts were frequent ; they occurred even in Mehemet Ali's time. The relaxing of severe repression is a critical operation, and needs a sufficient force to be within call to guard against riot and turbulence.

## CHAPTER XXXV.

Belzoni's Tomb—Portrait of Sethi—Translation of Inscription on ditto—Egyptian Notions of a Future State—Their Underworld—Homer's knowledge of Egypt—Circe and Hekate—The Ritual of the Dead—The Book of Hades.

Now that the main portion of my official report had been concluded, and sent off to be in time for the opening of Parliament, I had leisure for a little Egyptology. On our return to Thebes we revisited the Tombs of the Kings, especially that discovered by Belzoni. I examined attentively the bas-reliefs and inscriptions it contains, and made drawings, some of which I annex, and shall endeavour to explain. The subjects which I have selected have not, so far as I can discover, been published till now.

Plate XXXIII. is a portrait of Sethi Mamenra, second king of the 19th dynasty and father of Rameses the Great. It was taken by me from a bas-relief in the well-known tomb of that monarch, at Bab-el-Melek, near Thebes. The features are somewhat Jewish, and although differing considerably from those of his celebrated son and successor, they present a certain family resemblance, especially in the delicately aquiline nose. His hair is braided with the side lock, the intention being to represent him as personifying Horus, whose vicegerent on earth the Pharaohs claimed to be.

Immediately in front of him is the Royal Oval, Ma Men Ra, or Men Ma Ra, according to the order in





SETHI AS HORUS BAS-RELIEF BELZONI'S TOMB THEBES.



which the characters are read ; the signification being, "Abiding Justice of Ra." The inscription is to be read from the right top corner, and translates as follows :

*Tet an Anmuteſ:* " *Ai Menmara ma kherou.*  
Said by Anmuteſ: " I come Menmara righteous proclaimed.

*Tu na nek renpiou ma Ra. Ouserou ke*  
I give to thee years like Ra. Victories thine

(to be) equal to . . . . ." Sethi is clad in the panther skin worn by priests, chief of whom the Pharaohs found it politic to rank themselves, a course taken by the Roman Emperors many ages later.

Those who have never seen or have only superficially examined Egyptian Sculptures, hastily adopt the conclusion that all the faces are conventional—one much like the other; but it is the drawings made by the moderns that are chargeable with conventional uniformity. I complain that in the reproductions of Egyptian paintings and bas-reliefs published, there is little or no attempt to place them before the world in fac-simile. Any one who has the use of his eyes and will study the original monuments for himself, will see that there is the greatest possible variety of feature. The figures and limbs no doubt are conventionally, and too often very carelessly rendered ; but that is not true of the faces—the want of painstaking fidelity in modern reproductions extends even to such eminent and important works as that of Lepsius. I have compared with the originals, those of his plates professing to be fac-similes, and I cannot say that they are anything like as exact as they might be made. The individuality of Sethi is obvious in all the portraits of him I have seen : that is pretty generally true also of those of his son. There is

a marked difference between the features of all the members of the royal family of the 19th dynasty, and those of the 18th ; and the individuals of both groups differ from each other, while at the same time there is more or less of family likeness in those of each dynasty

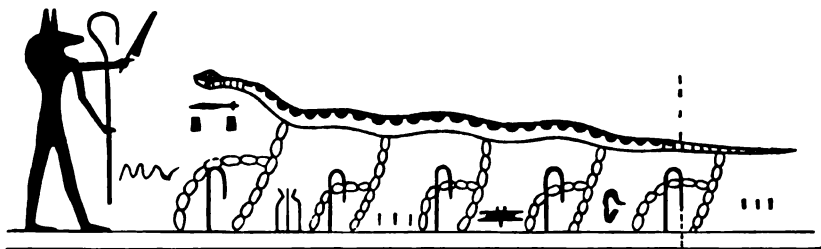
I shall now devote some pages to a popular account of the nature of the inscriptions which cover the walls of the Royal tombs, because they throw an interesting light upon the Egyptian notions of a Future State, and add some specimens of the bas-reliefs that are associated with them. The texts which accompany them do not directly explain their meaning, though they have some reference to them. The inscriptions are often chapters from the Ritual of the Dead. Sometimes they are addresses from Ra on his way through Hades, to the disembodied spirits in the Underworld, whether condemned or justified. Sometimes they are addressed by the deceased to various deities.

The often-mentioned Ritual of the Dead means the collection of formulæ and prayers to be used by the souls of the dead in the various circumstances in which they would, as they believed, find themselves placed during their state of probation.

These formulæ were, in the case of private individuals, written on papyrus, and stowed in the coffin with the body, so as to be at hand when required. But in the case of kings, queens, and royal personages, they were also engraved on the sepulchral walls, and form the great bulk of the inscriptions which cover them. The Tombs of the Kings might well bear the title, "The Underworld Illustrated," for they constitute an epitome of it.

Two series of events are portrayed and curiously interwoven : the one, the passage of the Sun God through




Hades from the West back to the East; the other, the passage of the soul, from its setting in death, back through many changes and adventures in Amenti, to re-union with the body after a long period of probation and purification. To the Egyptian mind these two progresses presented so close an analogy, and illustrated each other so well, that they thought they could not do better than depict them side by side. Moreover, they both took place in the same hidden region of the underworld. And the spirits there imprisoned had the consolation of Ra's presence amongst them during half his time, and fully as long as mortals on the upper earth. There was, too, a common bond of sympathy between them; for both the Sun God and the spirits had a common enemy in the Great Serpent, emblem of evil that lurked in the depths of this place of gloom, mystery and error.



The Serpent Apophis chained in Hades.

The name of this dread reptile was Apop, rendered by the Greeks, Apophis. It is remarkable that Satan—our evil principle—is spoken of also as the Great Serpent, and like Apop is represented as chained in the bottomless pit. There is a bas-relief in the tomb of Sethi, in which the Egyptian Satan is represented as hung with chains. Apophis can be traced in Greek and Roman

mythology in the Python slain by Apollo, their Sun God, and in Teutonic and Scandinavian legend in the Dragon that figures in so many popular tales.

One cannot help suspecting that descriptions of the Infernal regions such as that given by Virgil in the *Æneid* were written after a visit to the Tombs of the Kings. All the elements of the poet's description are to be found in them, as well as the prototypes of his personages; and the very name, Hades, is of Egyptian origin,   , Hates, being one of the names of Amenti.

We know now that, so far back as the time of Homer, these tombs were empty and deserted, their royal occupants having been removed by Pai-notem to his family vault at Deir-el-Bahari more than a century earlier. Contemporaries of Homer might therefore have visited them.

Homer himself shows a knowledge of Egypt, accurate as far as it goes. He could not, for instance, have chosen a better epithet for the metropolis of the upper country than *Thebes of the hundred pylons*. Even now, though but a small percentage of them remain, the pylons of the temples, towering above the ruins, are the features that most strike visitors on their first approach. How impressive must have been the effect when all were perfect, and when they rose in stately grandeur above the vast expanse of the city, like mountain-peaks dominating the plain!

Homer again proves how correctly informed he is when he gives the plural termination to Thebes, *Θηβαι*. It was in fact a double city, divided by the Nile, just as London and Southwark are by the Thames. In speaking of its Greek namesake, which is not so characterised,

he uses the singular, Θηβη,\* and also of Thebe Hupoplakiè in Asia Minor—the city of Eëtion. There is a very interesting passage in Gladstone's "Time and Place of Homer," p. 184, in which he quotes the romance invented by Ulysses when invited by Eumæus to give an account of his adventures, *Odyssey*, xiv. 199—248. The narrative is not only highly characteristic of that piratic period, but also contains characteristic touches of things Egyptian: the well-tilled fields, the country spoken of as a plain—and a flatter plain than a mariner casting anchor in any of the mouths of the Nile would see, cannot be imagined,—the chariots and foot-soldiers glittering with spears and battle-axes; then after the rout and destruction of the hero's indiscreet companions, he himself is taken, forgiven and treated as a guest in the same hospitable spirit observable in the welcome extended to Abraham, and to Jacob and his family, and illustrated on various monuments and papyri as customary. Indeed, we have an example (Plate III. in this work) where a stranger chief and his family of 37 are being hospitably received by command of the king. Then the intervention of the Phœnician rogue is another trait true to nature, and in keeping with what we know of ancient Egyptian society.

We have traces of intercourse between Greece and Egypt in those days. I observed among the objects found in the tomb of Agamemnon at Mycenæ, an ornament of Egyptian workmanship in gold and enamel: it was a kind of breast-plate representing Isis embowered in lotus blossoms. Another trace of intercourse I have already mentioned, p. 185. The earliest allusion to

\* Mr. Gladstone, who did me the honour to peruse the proofs of the above passage, called my attention to the fact that Θηβη in Asia Minor is also in the singular. . .

h 374  
 2 55  
 the Greeks on any Egyptian monument occurs on the tomb which I discovered at Thebes. (See Plate XVI., and also p. 94.) Homer introduces entirely Egyptian ideas, when he speaks of the ocean as a river which flows round the earth; when he speaks of the Gates of the Sun; of the Isles of the Blessed in the West, *i.e.*, Amenti; of Hades, and the personages and things of the Underworld. In Greek and Roman mythology, Circe, Hekate, Cerberus, Charon, the many-headed hydra (see Plate XXXIX.) can all be shown to be of Egyptian origin, and their prototypes are to be found in the Tombs of the Kings. Finally, Radamanthus, their judge in Hades, is no other than Ra em Amenti, the *d* being inserted for euphony. Hercules strangling the serpents while yet a child, is obviously a version of the child Horus grasping a bundle of serpents in either hand as an emblem of his triumph over evil.

In the tomb of Sethi, Circe is represented taming the great Python: see "Nile Gleanings," Plate XXIV., and cover. In Homer, her *métier* is similar. She tames the lions, so that, forgetting their savage nature, they come and fawn upon the companions of Ulysses, and rub themselves against them, with tail erect, like cats. Odyssey, Book X. v. 13: *τοὺς αὐτὴ κατεθελξεν Κίρκη*. In the same Book she changes the comrades of Ulysses into swine: a metamorphosis also depicted on the Theban tombs in many a place—it was one of the punishments of the reprobate.

It was consistent, too, with Circe's character as a deity of the Underworld, that she instructs Ulysses how to visit it, and tells him what incantations to use to attract to him the departed spirits of the dead. More Egyptian notions are traceable, too, in Ulysses' expedi-



tion to Hades. Homer describes the ocean as a river deep flowing: *Βαθυροον Ὠκεανοιο*; and again, "*Παραροον Ὠκεανοιο Ὅμεν.*" It was at the extreme boundary of the ocean, towards the sunset, where they found Hades covered with shadow and vapour: there "pernicious night is spread:" *ἐπὶ νύξ ὅλοῃ τέταται.* The wandering there of the Kas or shades of the dead, is also an Egyptian idea.

Another Homeric passage may be cited to prove that poet's accurate knowledge of things Egyptian: he speaks of them as feasting on flowers. They are in so many bas-reliefs represented seated at feasts with lotus flowers to their noses, that it is easy to understand such a tale being brought back by travellers.

In another passage he speaks of the Gods as going to Ethiopia—Abyssinia. The Egyptians referred the origin of their Gods back to Abyssinia.

Another episode worth noting in this connection, is the slaying of the cows sacred to the Sun by the companions of Ulysses. It was Circe, herself daughter of the Sun both in Egyptian and Greek mythology, who warned him of the consequences of doing this. The slaying of animals sacred to the Gods was one of the mortal sins mentioned in the Ritual of the Dead, and cows dedicated to the Sun were an entirely Egyptian institution.

But in truth there is nothing extraordinary in Greek knowledge of and intercourse with Egypt, in and long before the time of Homer. It would, on the contrary, have been surprising had it been otherwise. Not only were the two countries almost *vis-à-vis*, but Egypt was also the centre of learning, and of the arts and sciences for the whole then known world, and a great power by sea and

land to boot. From the time of the 18th dynasty at least, they had been coming in contact with each other alternately in war and commerce. Greek mythology was grafted on Egyptian stocks. The foundations of it may have been imported in very remote times by Egyptian colonists, bringing with them the confused notions which, as laymen, they would have of the mysteries of their highly allegorical religion. These would be further modified by Phœnician admixture : and ultimately acquired the fanciful developments that might be expected from the lively imagination of the Greeks.

Let us now return to the Ritual of the Dead, which was a sort of Murray's Handbook for departed spirits through the regions of the underworld. It opens thus :—

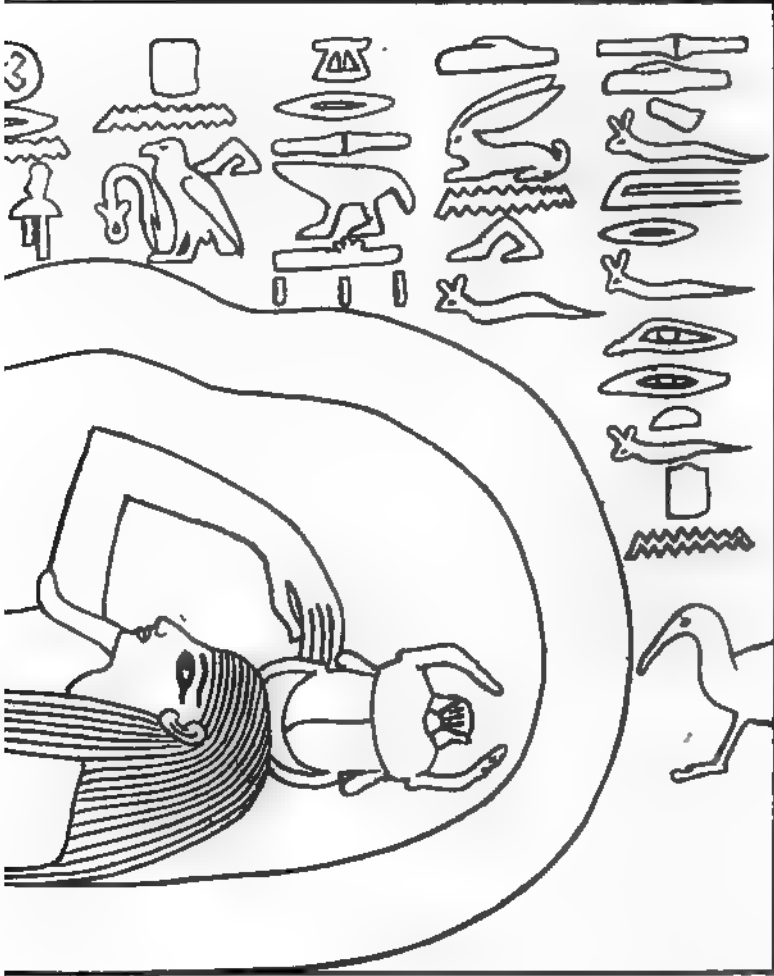
“ The beginning of the chapters of the coming forth from the day of bearing the dead [*i.e.*, the funeral procession] in Kar Neter [*i.e.*, Hades]. Spoken the day of the funeral by the Osiris [*i.e.*, the deceased] on entering Hades after coming forth (out of the upper world).”

The chapter ends thus : “ Let this book be known,” *i.e.*, learnt, “ upon earth.” It is made in writing or pictures on the coffin. It is the chapter by which deceased goes forth every day as he wishes, and he goes to his home ; he is not turned back.

“ There are given to him food and drink off the altar of the Sun ; when he passes the fields of Aalu, corn and barley are given to him out of them—he is supplied as he was on earth.”

The altar of the sun here mentioned appears in Plate X., top left-hand corner, with food upon it.

There are 165 chapters in all, varying greatly in length. One of them, chapter 99, is given in “ Nile Gleanings,” Plate L., and the translation, page 303.



1. The first part of the document is a list of names and addresses of the members of the committee.

Chapter 7 is interesting: it is called "The chapter of escaping out of the folds of the Great Serpent." I annex a bas-relief illustrating the escape of King Sethi from the folds of the said serpent. The hieroglyphs to the right of the heads read, Akhou Herou—the many headed. The monster is no doubt the origin of the fable of the Hydra. (See Plate XXXIX.)

The words of the formula are as follows:—"Oh Capturing by theft the living and the dying—thou hast not quieted [*i.e.* slain] me, no poison comes on to my hands (from thee). If thou dost not crouch (to me), I do not bow down to thee. Thy wickedness has not come out upon these my hands. I am one who came forth from the nostril of Heaven. My acts are the acts of God. I am the mysteriously named arranger of places for millions. I am the emanation from Toun. I am one of the initiated."

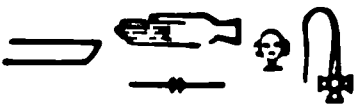
The three drops beneath the feet of the king are Hieroglyphs and read "Ha," "the limbs" or "the flesh;" and signify that it is the corporeal body that is being restored to life. The revival is represented by the scarab, the sign of life, entering his head, and by the movement of his arm and leg, as if about to stretch them after sleep. The same attitude is seen in the bas-reliefs of Osiris returning to life, at Philæ and elsewhere.

In chapter 15 the noteworthy expression occurs, "I am the great God creating himself: it is water or Nou who is father of the Gods."

In chapter 19 the interesting term occurs, "Crown of Justification."

Other chapters of the Ritual relate to transmigrations of the soul into various animals, and even plants: one of them is on being transformed into a lily.

There appears to have been a Book of Hades which shared with the Ritual and the Litany of the Sun, illustrations in the royal tombs. All of the bas-reliefs and texts there seem to refer to one or the other. I annex an example taken by me from the tomb of Seti (Plate XL.)

On the left is the serpent Kheti, "Fire." On the right is a lion-headed deity—one of those referred to in the 125th chapter. His title is inscribed in front of him  Mats Her Kl  
"Countenance of the flaming sword;" or, I think might be translated, "Master of the flaming sword."

This bas-relief represents the punishment of enemies of Osiris, *i. e.*, the wicked. Osiris was the embodiment of the good principle in the Egyptian mythology, as Set was of evil, and just as in our own religion the followers of sin and Satan are termed the enemies of God, so in that of Egypt were transgressors of the law of Osiris viewed as his enemies. The text reads as follows, beginning at the left top corner.

*Osar khonti Tua te pir neb Ank*  
Osiris dwelling in the Abyss, Lord of life,

*Hak Ament Ta Ank nek Ank ke*  
Master of Hades, given is life to thee, existent art thou

*Ank en Khet Ba ke aka ke*  
a living possession is thy soul, thou movest onward.

*Ba te em ta Boua nek er amou*  
The Spirit in the earth, thou rulest over those

*Khet he Kher Peh nek Kheftou ke*  
who are thine when thou hast placed thine enemies

*Ker reti ke Khem nek*  
under thy feet, thou hast obtained the mastery



EBES







*Arou er ke* *Nsou*  
 by the things accomplished on thy behalf, flames  
*her Khet ou Khet er sennou am f sennou*  
 from serpents blaze against them, he consumes them,  
*mats her Khet er sennou*  
 the master of the flaming sword encounters them,  
*mats f sennou aka f sennou*  
 he hews them down, he brings them  
*sesta \* \* \* \* \**  
 bound *\* \* \* \* \**

In this translation I have as far as possible placed the English equivalents beneath the Egyptian words, but I could not have done this throughout without sacrificing the sense, because the order of ideas in their minds differed from our own. Where we put personal and possessive pronouns first they put them last, *e.g.* in the expression *Aka ke*, "thou marchest onward,"—*Aka* is the verb and *ke* is the pronoun. So in the expression *Peh nek Kheftou nek ker reti ke*, the order of ideas is as follows, "placed hast thou enemies thine under feet thine."

On other monuments the serpent who appears on the left of the scene is represented as spitting fire. It appears also that he swallows the heads of the reprobates as fast as they are chopped off. The decapitated beings have their title inscribed in front of them: *Kheftou Osir*, enemies of Osiris. The hieroglyphs between the serpent and the wretched culprit next him are difficult. They read, *Ank Khetou Ank arou Ank Baiou*, the word *Ank*, "living," being thrice repeated; the sense appears to be, "Living are they (although decapitated), living are their deeds, living are their souls."

But the most important chapters of all are the 124th and 125th, containing the formulæ to be employed by the soul on entering the Judgment Hall of Osiris. I have already spoken of this scene in connection with Plate IX. The hall itself is called the Hall of Double Justice, *i.e.* of justice to the righteous and justice to the wicked; the most literal translation would be, "The Hall of the Twin Mas." Now the word Ma had two meanings: it stood both for Truth and Justice; and the title Usek Ma Ti may signify "Hall of Truth and Justice," *i.e.* of Ma in both its senses.

The title of chapter 125 is, "The Book of going to the Hall of the twin Mas, and of separating a person from his sins when he has been made to see the faces of the Gods."

This section is so important that it is distinguished with the title of "The Book" instead of "The Chapter," as in other sections: , a document complete in itself, instead of , Rua, one roll or fold of it. It often occurs as the only portion of the Ritual comprised in a funeral papyrus.

The preliminaries which the Soul has to go through in advancing towards the Judgment Hall of Osiris savour of the "Arabian Nights." As he approaches, the Door Sill exclaims, "Pass not until thou hast told me my name." The deceased must not be unprepared, he must be acquainted with the proper formula, which in this case is "\* \* \* \* \* ? in the right place is thy name." Similarly, all the other component parts of the magic structure are represented as sentient beings, having a mission to fulfil and the will to accomplish it. The Left Lintel in turn says, "Pass not until thou hast told me my

name." The well-instructed spirit must give the fitting reply: "Returner of the True is thy name." Next comes the turn of the Right Lintel, which thunders forth, "Pass not until thou hast told me *my* name." The reply to the second corresponds with that to the first: "Returner of Judged Hearts is thy name." Now it is the Floor's turn, who is propitiated with the pass-word, "Bow of Seb." Then comes the Key, who varies slightly his demand: "I do not open to thee until thou hast told me my name." Answer, "Born of Maut." Next comes the Lock, whose title is, "Life of Sebek." And now the Great Gate itself stops the way with the words, "I do not unfold until thou hast told me my name." Answer, "Fold of Shou which he has placed there to protect Osiris." Lastly it is the Doorkeeper's turn, who in response to the same question receives the pass-word, "Searcher of Hearts." But he is not yet satisfied. "Explain," says he, "the God who stands within." "The God is Thoth. And his title is, 'Recorder of the Earth.'"

And now deceased, having successfully passed through all the ordeal of questions, is allowed to depart with these words, "Go forth! thou hast been introduced, the Osiris has been justified for ever."

On first entering, the deceased addresses Osiris and the other Gods present in these words: "Oh, thou Great God, Lord of Truth! Oh, ye Lords of Truth! I have known thee. I have known thy name. I have known the names of the 42 divinities who are with thee in the Hall of Truth and Justice; they (the 42) who live by eating the wicked, fed off their blood on the day of reckoning words before the Good Being, the Just One. Rub ye away my faults. I have not been idle. I have not played the highwayman. I have not lied. I have

not stolen. I have not smitten men treacherously. I have not counterfeited rings (*i.e.* coined false money). I have not played the hypocrite. I have not sacrilegiously taken Divine things. I have not kept back food from the people. I have not caused to weep. I have not turned away from him that would borrow. I have not eaten hearts. I have not slain sacred beasts. I have not conspired. I have not turned aside water-courses. I have not spoken at random. I have not corrupted man or woman. I have not turned a deaf ear to truth. I have not blasphemed. I have not dawdled. I have not been hasty. I have not multiplied words [a trait which would have rendered him an esteemed member of Parliament]. I have committed no wicked sin. I have not reviled my king or my father. I have not defiled the river. [I wish this were still deemed a deadly sin.] I have not calumniated the slave to his master. I have not made the labourer do more than his daily task. I have not taken the clothes from the dead. I have not despised God in my heart. I have not injured the statues of the Gods. I have not committed adultery. I have not withheld milk from the mouths of sucklings. I am pure. I am pure. I am pure."

It must be confessed the above is not a bad scheme of ethics for a heathen people to have conceived. Admirers of Plato dwell upon the almost Christian character of his code of morality; but he is known to have studied at Heliopolis, in Egypt, and his inspiration was due to his Egyptian teaching.

I have already spoken of the 42 accusers: to each of these the deceased addresses a plea of "Not guilty" to the special sin over which he presides. Some of the titles

of these deities of the under-world are worth notice. Amongst them are: "Lion Gods that come out of Heaven," "Glowing Feet coming out of the Darkness," "Burning Eyes coming out of the Shrine," "Breath of Flame coming out of Ptahka," "Visage of Fire," "Devourer of Hearts coming out of the abode of the 30," "Overthrower of Palaces," "Sifter of Words," "Eater of Blood that comes from the Headman's Blade," &c. In the presence of this formidable array of accusers, the spirit of the deceased, addressing them one by one, repeats a similar catalogue of sins to that enumerated before Osiris.

This is but a popular work intended for the general reader, not for professional Egyptologists—it would be quite beyond its scope to give more than a sketch in outline of the Ritual of the Dead; but there are a few more features connected with it which might prove interesting even to the uninitiated. Elysium is represented as being approached by great stairs, at the top of which are gates, each having its appropriate name inscribed over it. One cannot help being reminded of the descriptions of the New Jerusalem in the book of Revelation, over each gate of which is also inscribed its name.

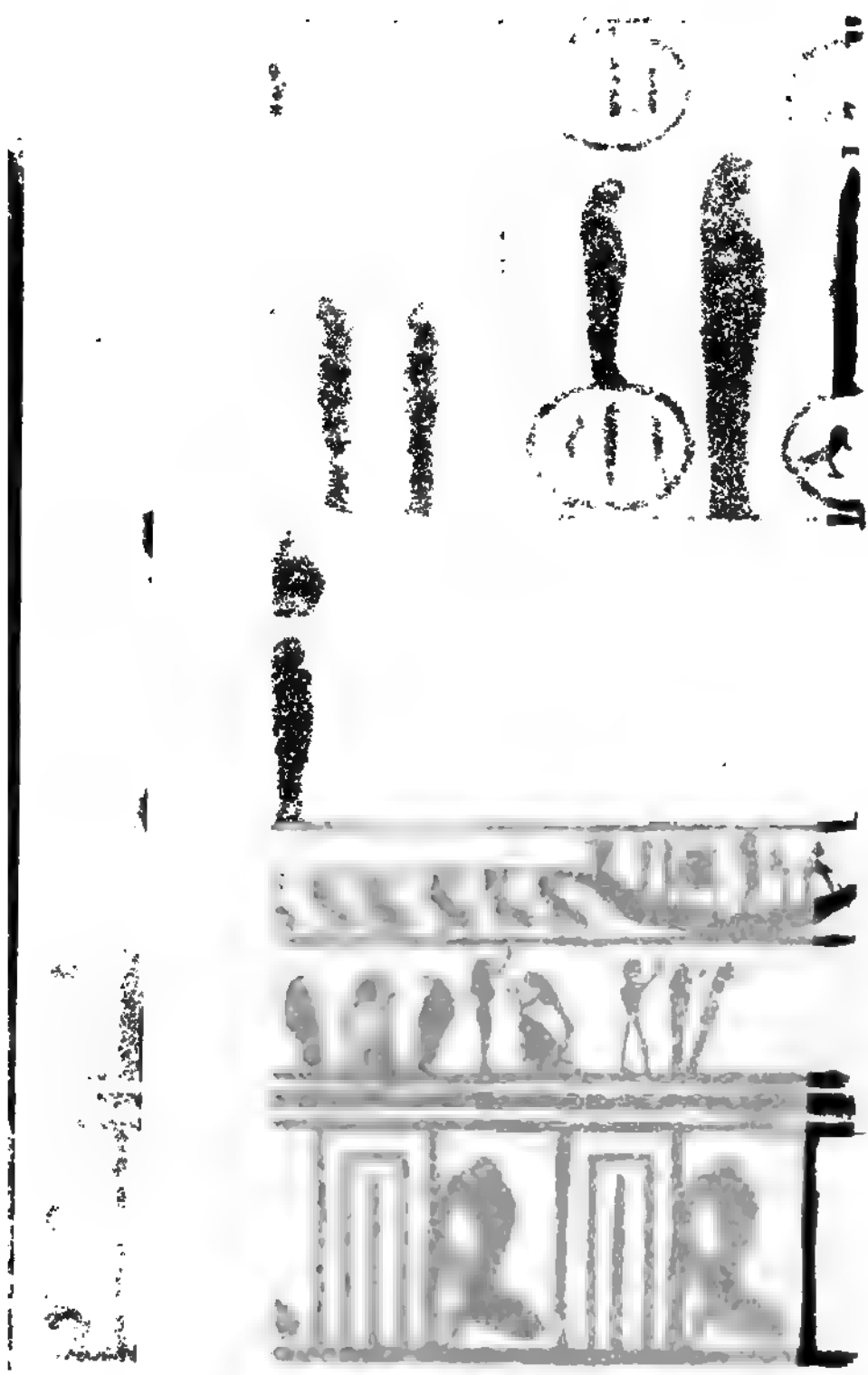
Here are some of the titles of the Gates:—"Mistress of Terror," "Mistress of Heaven," "Mistress of Altars," "Regent of the Earth," "Mistress of the Breath of Life," "Mistress of Supplication," "Turner back of the Profane," "Gate of Ruin," "Gate of Fire which cannot be quenched," "Lord of Beginnings," "Lord of Fear," "Face of Stone," "Inquisitor of the Earth," "Gate whence Isis gives light to the Nile," "Mistress of Exultation," "Gate of the Souls of the Red-haired."

Here I may observe that there were a certain percen-

tage of red-haired or fair-haired individuals amongst the Egyptians. I have often seen skulls with red hair still attached: notably so in the Crocodile Cavern, Gebel Aboufaida (see "Nile Gleanings"), where they occur even in the remotest recesses, where they must have been deposited at an early period, and cannot therefore be attributed to the Romans. I have also seen chestnut brown hair on mummies. The occurrence of fair tints amongst the Egyptians is interesting ethnologically, and is most emphatically confirmed by this mention of "The Gate of the Fair-haired," in the very ancient Book of the Dead. (See Plate LVII.)

Each of these gates had a door-keeper in the shape of a serpent: these are called guardians of the gate. Here are some of their names: "Vulture of Victory," "Born of Pthah," "Subduer," "Smiter of the Strong," "Turner back of the Profane," "Lord of Vigilance," &c. At each gate, Horus makes an address to the soul of the Egyptian, which ends with these words, "Thou art purified, Thou art justified, Thou mayest enter!"

It is also noteworthy that Horus, who in so many respects presents parallelisms to the offices of our Saviour, terms each gate the —th (prefixing its number) gate of the *meek-hearted*,—who, in the Gospel too, are declared to be inheritors of the kingdom of Heaven.







## CHAPTER XXXVI.

The Western Valley—Tomb of Amunoph III.—Tomb of King Aai, of the Eighteenth Dynasty—Discovery of an Unviolated Tomb—Mummies *in situ*—The Foundress of the Eighteenth Dynasty—Expedition to Medamot.

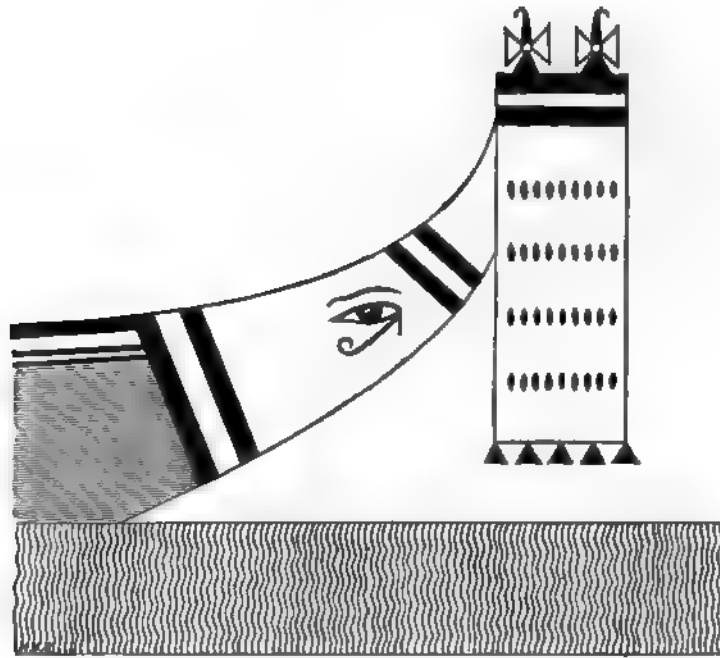
AMONGST other monuments I made a careful and thorough examination of the tombs in the western valley. I found they had been terribly injured since my last visit, and wishing to preserve a record of all that is left of them, I spent many hours in making notes of every scrap of painting and hieroglyphics that is left, especially in the least known one, the tomb of Aii. This king was the second in succession from Khou-en-Aten, having married a lady of the name of Tai. The name suggests a connection with the wife of Amunoph III., and this marriage was evidently his stepping-stone to power. He had been an officer in the service of Khou-en-Aten, and while in that capacity had prepared a handsome private rock-tomb for himself at Tel-el-Amarna, which is still in perfect preservation. It is dedicated to himself and his wife Tai, and I shall have more to say about it hereafter. When he became King he excavated a tomb, more worthy of his altered fortunes, among his royal predecessors in the Valley of the Tombs of the Kings, which I shall now describe. It is on the right-hand as one advances westward up the valley; the entrance is under a high cliff which has been excavated, leaving a flat ceiling of rock overhead,

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chiselled perfectly smooth. The most curious thing about it is, that a number of stalactites hang down from the cracks. These must have been formed since the completion of the tomb ; but the climate now is almost absolutely rainless, and the formation of a stalactite therefore quite impossible. It follows that at some period within the 35 centuries that have elapsed since the stonemasons of Aai were at work there, a different climate must have prevailed, characterized by rains sufficiently frequent to account for the stalactites.

The tunnel leading down into the sepulchral chambers is without paintings or inscriptions, but on entering the main hall, there is to the left a long inscription occupying the lower part of the wall like a dado ; as I had not time to copy the whole of this myself, I set an Arab to do it as well as he could, and I annex a facsimile of this specimen of native handiwork. (See Plate LXIII.) The characters are perfectly legible, and that he should have succeeded so well, untaught and ignorant as he is, implies much natural intelligence. The characters were painted black on a golden yellow ground ; the surface of the walls was plastered, and the destruction is owing to the facility with which the plaster can be detached ; the Arabs break it off bit by bit with scraps of paintings and sell them to travellers as useless trophies of their tour. Drawing here was warm work, for the thermometer within the tomb stood steadily at 88° Fahrenheit. Over the long inscription was a large boat containing two royal standards surmounted by hawks ; these had blue bodies, yellow legs, white belly and thighs, the tails were tipped with red, and the feathers outlined red. The boat resembled that in Plate II., but considerably shorter in proportion ; the

stern was exactly the same, and the prow was also covered with a hammer-cloth, but the pattern was



different; the cloth is red, the drops blue, the horizontal bars, blue with yellow between, the inverted Maltese crosses red. Further on was a second boat of a different pattern as to prow and stern, and containing nine deities in the following order: Ra, Isis, Osiris, Neith, Seb, Nou tef pet, Shou, Toum, Horus; their names were over their heads, the red crosses surmounted by a flame are the hieroglyphs for fire. Between the two boats was the goddess Nephthys.

Opposite the entrance was a door-way surmounted by four white figures wearing the crown of Upper Egypt, seated two and two opposite each other, with a table of

offerings between them. Over their heads were their names, Mesta, Hapi, Tuatmutef, and Kabsenouf, and beyond that the King is offering to Nut, who is styled Mother of the Gods. In response to his prayer, she gives him "all life, power, and stability, like Ra for ever." Next the King offers to Hathor; he is accompanied by his standard-bearer. Over the King's head are his cartouches and titles. Hathor wears a tight-fitting white dress and braces, and has a *pink* instead of the primrose yellow complexion usually given to ladies by the ancient Egyptian artists. It is worth observing that although the goddess is in the inscription over her head called Hathor, she wears the headdress of the Goddess of the West (see Plate VI., and for her titles, Plate XXVIII., Inscription No. 13). These are therefore only different forms of the same goddess. As Goddess of the West she promises him that he shall be fanned by delightful zephyrs. In the last panel, on the second wall, the King is represented as making offerings to Osiris, who is here painted with a black complexion and negro features; over his head is the dedication: "To the Good Being Osiris, the Great God, Lord (Hak) for evermore." The King in this and in all the other groups is not crowned; he wears the headdress annexed; his apron is of the fashion of the

h 192  
h 426



18th dynasty (see "Nile Gleanings," Plate VII., page 146). But below the apron is a curious petticoat, patterned

alternately with rows of diamonds and dots. The King's standard is surmounted by a hawk, and consists of a bull, with the epithet "valiant," a scarab, and the hieroglyph for lightning or splendour.

On the third wall is a boat containing a scarab, emblem of life and resurrection; two bearded men are worshipping, they face each other kneeling at opposite ends of the boat, and an inscription is appended stating them to be the Osiris—*i.e.*, the deceased. There is also a ram painted red.

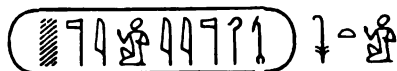
On the last wall, which brings us back to the doorway at which we entered, is a group which recalls the ancient Empire.

The King, attended by the Queen, is in a boat on a papyrus swamp. His Majesty is making a splendid bag of wild fowl, which he is killing with a snake-shaped stick. The Queen, judging from the fragments that remain, is attired in the same dress as that of the Queen of Ahmes (Amosis). (See Plate XLI.) It appears to have been characteristic of the 18th dynasty.

Over her head is her cartouche, which though much defaced can still be traced; it contains her name Tai, with her title, "Royal Consort, Chief Lady, Queen of Upper and Lower Egypt," and in another column, "The *heiress*, the mistress of delights," or "of the singers"; this confirms the theory that the right to the throne was in her. The words are, "*Erpa te, te ur hessiou.*"

Close to this group is another painting of the King alone in his boat on the same marsh, and occupied in the same way. In the centre of the great hall is a beautiful rose-pink granite sarcophagus. At the four corners are four goddesses; each embraces her angle

with her wings and wears her symbol on her head—Isis, a throne; Neith, a shuttle; Circe a scorpion; Nephthys, a bowl. The sides were covered with inscriptions. I had drawings of these, which I have unfortunately lost; this is the more to be regretted as they have not hitherto been published; my impression is, however, that they were similar to Plate XLIII. The King's cartouches had all been defaced except one,



Oval of Aai, King preceded by title.

which I annex; I found the lid of the sarcophagus buried beneath a couple of feet of rubbish.

The inscription copied in Plate LXIII. is so mystic as to be, with the exception of one or two passages, incoherent. The constantly recurring oval, preceded by an eye, a throne, and the symbol for King, sometimes with the addition of a seated figure, means the Osiris King, *i.e.* the deceased King Aai, now merged in Osiris. The ovals are all designedly defaced. A portion of the text refers to the Sun Myth. It is in fact a hymn, and is repeated almost in duplicate from the 13th line. Lines 21 and 22: "penetrating places, dissipating absolutely all grief for his (people), the Sun, the great one, in his glorious career illuminates these pure waters." The word 'illuminates' will be distinguished in line 22 by a disk with three rays emanating from it. The same formula occurs in line 10.

The concluding line reads—"Ever living he hears from the bosom of Osiris the adoration to thee (the Sun)," *i.e.* the deceased is now ever living in the bosom of Osiris, and thence listens to the praises of the Sun

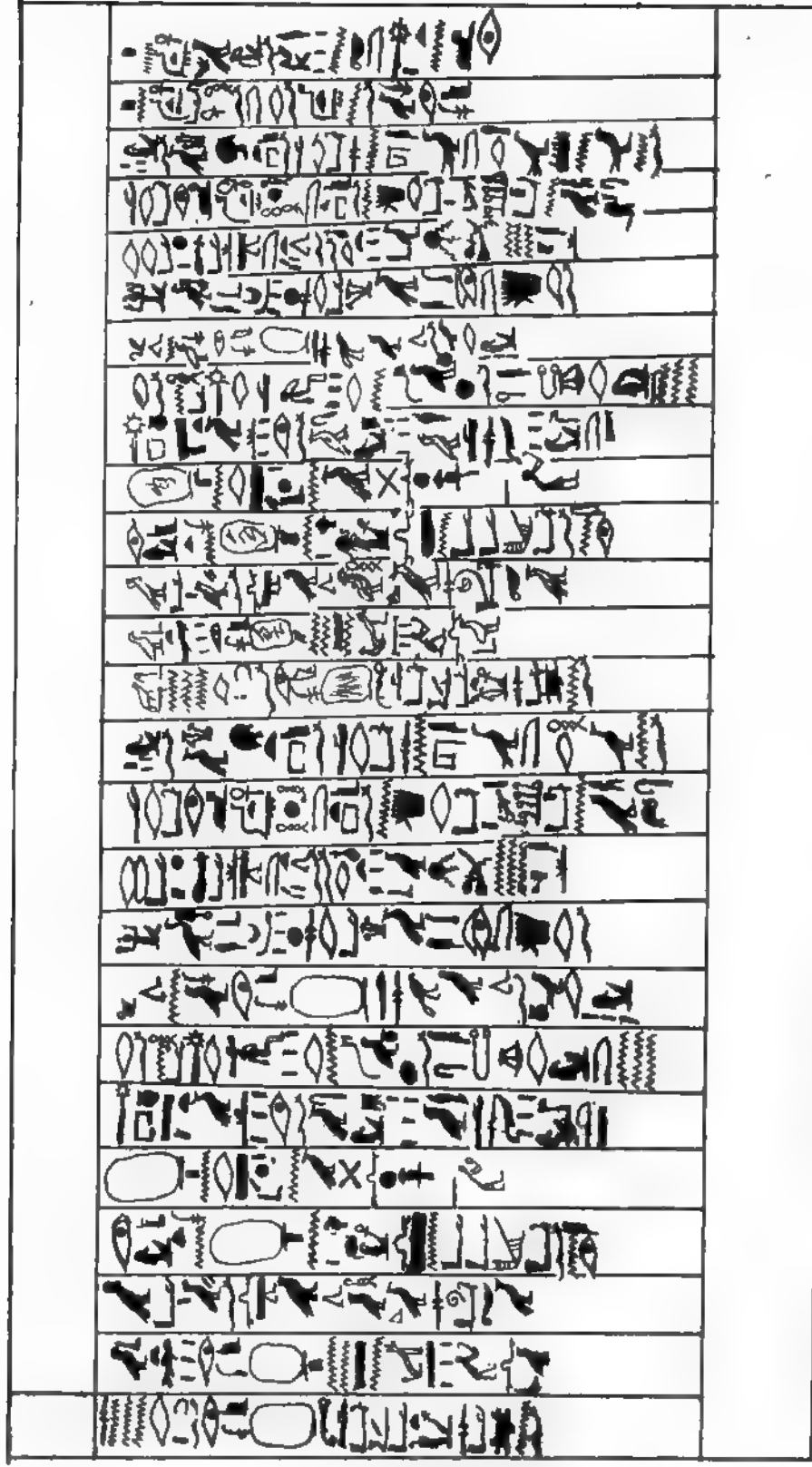


PLATE LXIII.

INSCRIPTION - TOMB OF KING AAI - AS COPIED FOR ME BY AN ARAB





God. An interesting passage, calling to mind the expression "In Abraham's bosom."

The tomb of Amunoph III. in the same valley is now also much destroyed, the Arabs having cut out the faces for sale to travellers, and broken away the plaster extensively in doing so. There are some mythological subjects, having reference to the sun myth; in one of these the boat of the sun is being towed by a serpent. In another Khnum Ra is represented with a human head; the ram's head (his symbol) is alongside—an interesting illustration of how Egyptian deities came to be represented with the heads of animals and birds; viz., by substitution on their shoulders of their respective symbols or hieroglyphs for their own heads. Some Egyptologists assert that Amunoph III. already had adopted disk-worship from his Semitic wife, but his tomb is not consistent with that theory, for there is not a trace of disk-worship in it. On the contrary, he is represented as worshipping all the orthodox Egyptian deities.

During one of my expeditions in the Thebaid I had an opportunity of seeing a couple of mummies in their original vault undisturbed and perfect; they had only just been discovered. We had to burrow like rats and to descend through a most intricate labyrinth of violated tombs to get at it; finally, at a depth of full 50 feet, we arrived at a rock-hewn chamber at right angles to the shaft. It was but 4 feet high, and only just wide enough and long enough to contain two wooden coffins. These were elaborately painted; they were in the form of human bodies and surmounted by the portraits of the deceased. The heads were towards me, consequently I could not read the inscriptions; they were covered with the dust of ages.

I stooped down to blow this away; the operation proved only too successful, for not only did the dust vanish, but with it the bright colours, the vehicle which had kept them in their places having long since decomposed, and the colours and designs only remained in the condition of fine powder, retaining their form because they had never been disturbed till now, even by a breath. I found there a stout box, 18 inches high, 14 long, and 9 deep; it was full of little clay models of mummies, the Oushebtî or respondents for the deceased in the future state. I carried away a few, but, on being exposed to the air, they fell to pieces spontaneously within a few days. (See Plate XXXII.)

1192 Later on I visited a rock-tomb of the time of Amunoph I., in which that monarch was represented attended by his wife, Aah Hotep, and by his mother, Aahmes Nofretari, the latter painted with a *black* complexion, as she is in all the portraits I have seen of her.

1192 (See Plate XLI.)

But though her skin was dark, her features have not in the least a negro cast, but rather Abyssinian. She must have been the daughter of one of the kings of the 17th dynasty, probably of Ra Sekanen, for she is styled daughter of the King—as well as royal wife and queen mother. The only portrait we have of Ra Sekanen is that on his coffin. (See Plate XIII.) We have no information as to the lineage of his dynasty; it may have been Æthiopic or Nubian. The Theban bas-reliefs of this period show a decided Nubian infusion, due to complete severance of Upper Egypt from the Northern Provinces by the Hiksos occupation of the latter.

In Nubia even now, there is a considerable admixture of Abyssinian blood; whole villages there are still, at the

present day, purely Abyssinian, and differing markedly in feature and complexion from the genuine Nubians. They have slightly aquiline noses and dark coffee-coloured complexions.

On Jan. 28 I made a rather long expedition across country to a temple called Medamot. My object was to ascertain the condition of the peasantry on the eastern side of the river, for there is a much more extensive tract of cultivated land in that direction. I found the people very poor. The trip occupied many hours, and I passed through several villages and hamlets. When I took evidence from the inhabitants it was all to the same effect. The people of Zeneia said:—

“Arabi took 100 men from our village; 10 of them were killed in the war.

“When the conscription began, all our men ran away to the desert, that is the reason we have such bad crops; they were not irrigated.”

Q. Did the recruits who went to fight for Arabi go willingly?—A. No, they were taken against their will.

Q. But did not some of them go willingly?—A. No, not one.

Q. But did not the people of Zeneia wish well to Arabi?—A. How should we wish well to him when he took away 100 of our men, and killed 10 of them, and caused our crops to fail? He has our curses.

“We have to pay the salt tax, but though we pay for the salt, no salt is given us unless we go down to the collector's boat to the river (Zeneia is inland); then some is given, but only part of what we have paid for.

“Our land-tax here is from P.T. 80 to P.T. 120, but

the same time, the fact that the *Journal* was published in the United States, and that it was published by a woman, was a significant factor in its reception. The *Journal* was a new kind of journal, one that was not only published by a woman but also one that was published in the United States. This was a significant factor in its reception, as it was a new kind of journal that was not only published by a woman but also one that was published in the United States. The *Journal* was a new kind of journal, one that was not only published by a woman but also one that was published in the United States. This was a significant factor in its reception, as it was a new kind of journal that was not only published by a woman but also one that was published in the United States.

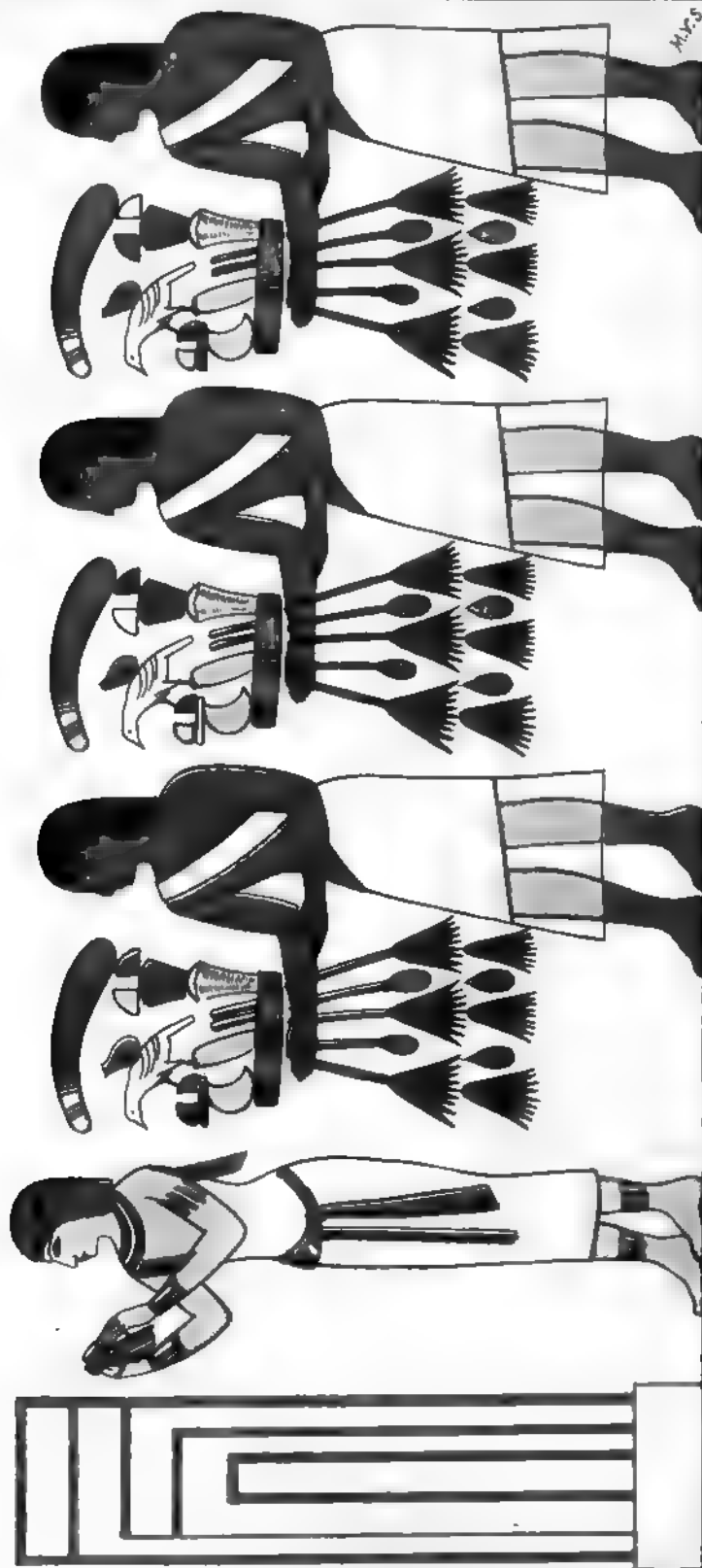
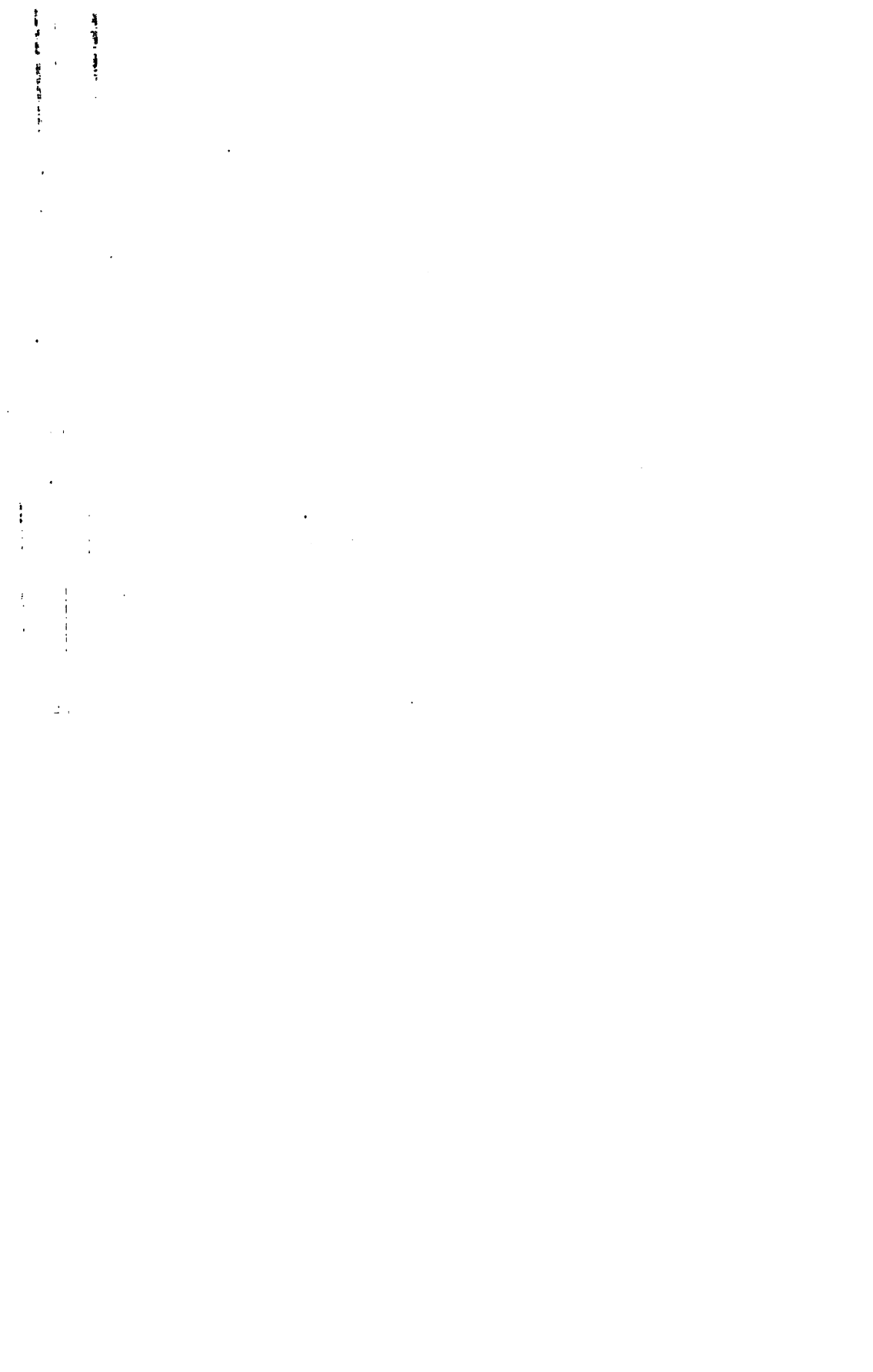


PLATE LVII

COLOURED BAS RELIEF IN TOMB DISCOVERED BY THE AUTHOR - THEBES



## CHAPTER XXXVII.

An ancient Tomb—The Tomb of Ra-Mes, Governor of Thebes—His Sister, Ptah Meri—Mourners at the Grave—Funeral Offerings—Bas-reliefs.

WHILE detained at Thebes, having a few days' leisure, we visited the tomb which I had discovered in February, 1879. It proved to have belonged to a personage of the name of Ra-Mes, who was governor of the city in the reign of Amunoph IV. An account of the discovery was published the same year in "Nile Gleanings," with two of the bas-reliefs. I included further drawings of the most important subjects last year in "The Funeral Tent of an Egyptian Queen," and our object now was to sketch some paintings which we had observed before, but had not time to copy; I present these to my readers (see Plates LVII. and LVIII.) In the first a lady with auburn hair is paying honour to the tomb of Ptah Meri, sister of Ra-Mes; the name and title of the latter appear in inscription No. 14, Plate XXVIII. She is styled "Aress an Amen, Neb te pir, Ptah Meri;" that is, "Canoness, or Chauntress of Amen: Mistress of the House, Ptah Meri." In another place her relationship to the Governor of Thebes is mentioned, viz., sister. The fair-haired mourner appears to have a pair of copper cymbals in her hands, and to be striking them together; she is followed by three servants carrying offerings. The uppermost articles are bunches of leeks, showing their white bulbs; there are besides cakes,

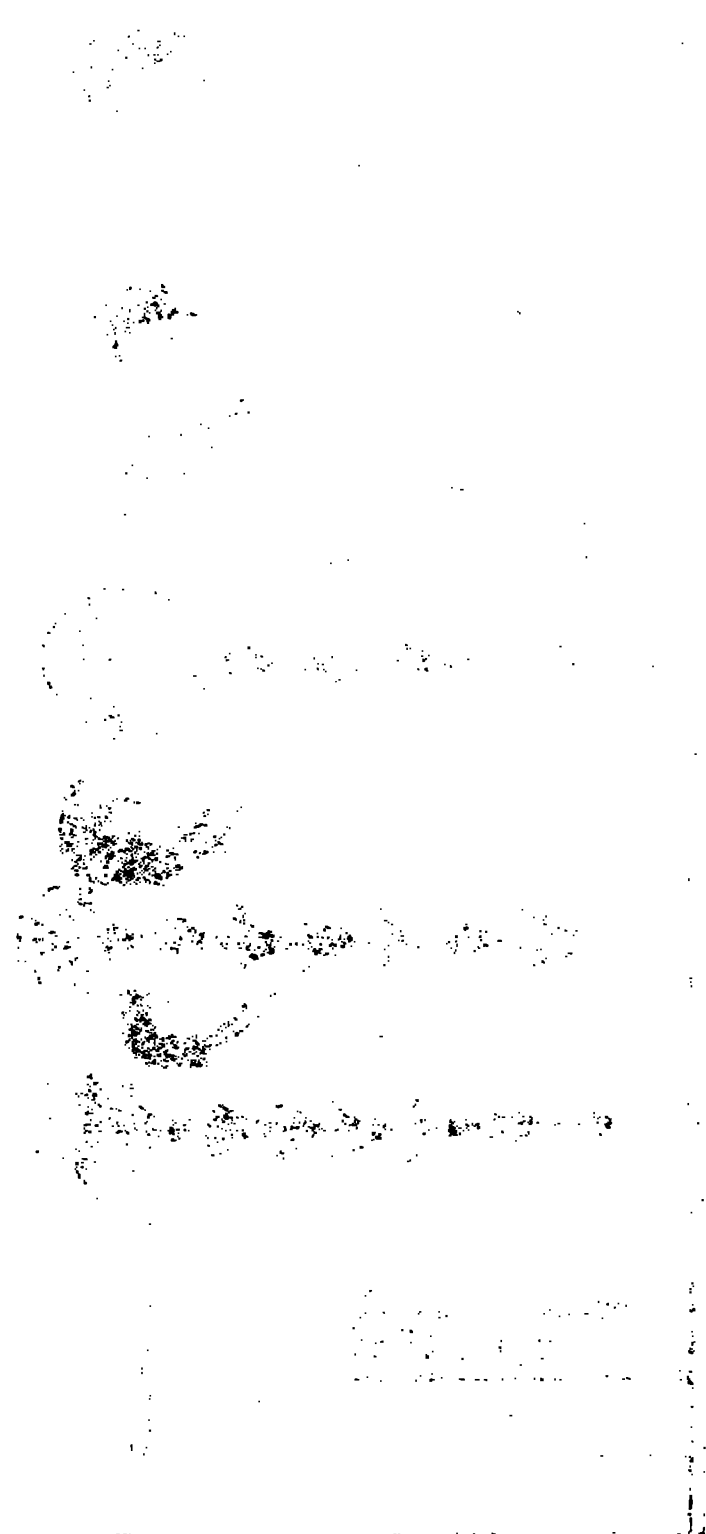
baskets shaped like strawberry pottles and, no doubt, containing fruit, earthenware vessels, live birds, intended possibly for doves, pets perhaps of Ptah Meri during life. The servants carry on their arms papyrus flowers and bunches of blue berries. They wear double petticoats, the lower one being semi-transparent. The upper one is supported on the shoulder by a white sash.

Above the group is a much mutilated inscription, stating that the lady is presenting a variety of offerings to her deceased friends, amongst other things a monument. Over the blue outlined structure is inscribed "Pen utes;" this is the monument. Over the lady's head are the words "Mur te em te pir," "The chief one in the house." She was, therefore, lady companion and superintendent of the palace to Ptah Meri. I should have supposed it to be Ptah Meri herself, but for the bas-relief below, in which the mummies of brother and sister both appear. The auburn hair is interesting; it was not rare amongst the ancient race, but is never seen now. In the Book of the Dead, one of the gates of Paradise is called the Gate of the Fair-haired.

Plate LVIII. depicts a scene of lustration by the priest with holy water; he is sprinkling the sacred liquid from a four-fold vase over the mummies—the last office before they were consigned to the grave. The compound vessel is the same so often represented in bas-reliefs, and composed sometimes of three, sometimes of four, small jars united together. They were in use in the most remote times, for they appear as a hieroglyph in inscriptions of the Senofreou period.

In front of the priest is a collection of offerings, the lowest of which is a casket containing the little mummy dolls called Oushebti—always deposited with the dead;







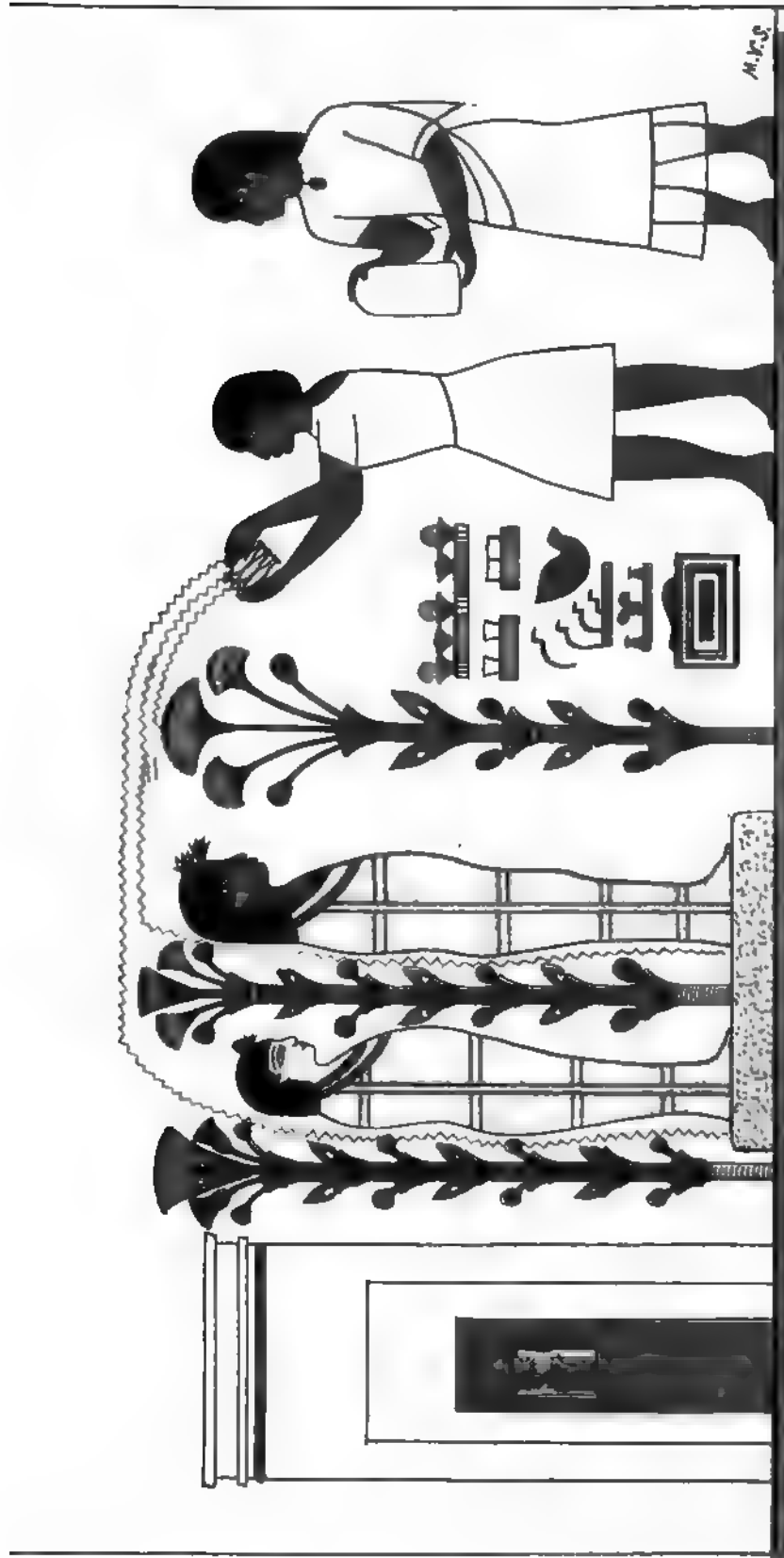


PLATE LVIII

COLOURED BAS RELIEF IN TOMB DISCOVERED BY THE AUTHOR—THEBES.  
LAST OFFICES.



the use of them has been explained, page 211 of this work. In Plate XXXII. will also be found a representation of a double box of the same nature, showing the figures themselves. The dedication is also double, one to the mother, the other to the infant daughter. The latter, like the former, is called "The divine bride of Amen." Above the highly decorated casket is a balance with the ostrich feathers, signifying justification, in the centre. Above that is a roll of papyrus tied with a riband. Above that again are four serpents, the signification of which I do not know. The bouquets of papyrus flowers which embower the mummies are highly elaborate, and a hint might be taken from them for the drawing-room floral decorations now in vogue. The mummies wear blue lotus flowers on their heads. On the door of the tomb behind them are a couple of partly obliterated figures. Behind the priest is an acolyte carrying a stela; he is adorned with a necklace of large beads, with an amulet attached.

In the rear of these two bas-reliefs is a figure of Hathor as goddess of Amenti, the same as in Plate VI. Over her head is an inscription (Plate XXVIII., No. 13), "Hathor, Queen of Heaven, Ruler of the Wind." She holds in her hand the emblem of purification, and appears to preside over the honours paid to the deceased.

The next section of the eastern wing is occupied with bas-reliefs of Ra-Mes and his sister worshipping some deity, still buried beneath the rubbish. Ptah Meri wears a highly decorated head-dress, and her hood is fringed; in her right hand she carries a sistrum with head of Hathor. Ra-Mes wears an amulet supported by a ribbon and hanging down to his waist, same as the lady in "Nile Gleanings," Plate LV. He

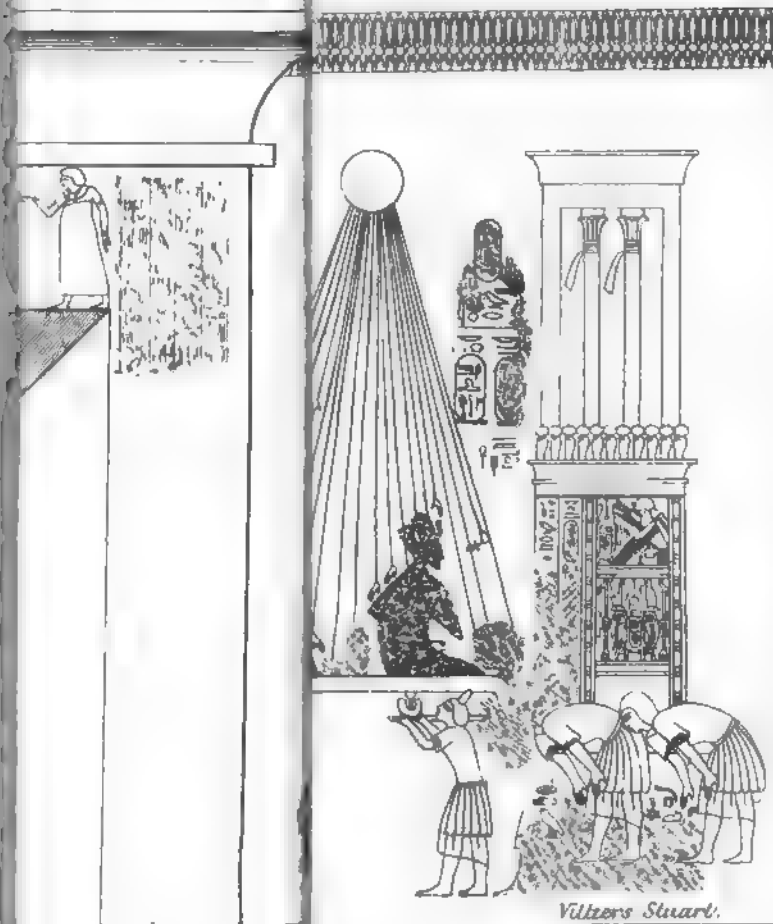
has a long robe descending almost to his heels. His feet are shod with sandals. There is a long inscription differing in no interesting particular from those in other parts of the tomb, translations of which I offer later on in next Chapter.

The western wing is still buried beneath hundreds of cart-loads of rubbish, and I have reason to think that it was never finished; but I ascertained that in front of Khou-en-Aten (see Plate XV.) there were a great number of figures outlined in black upon the stone, but never engraved. I have drawings of them. Personages of various nationalities are being marshalled into the presence of the King. They are prostrating themselves before his Majesty. Some wear ostrich-feather head-dresses, the heads of others are decorated with a kind of horn. Another group are *en fête*, and they carry lotus flowers in their hands, and appear to be indulging in panegyrics in praise of their monarch. In another tableau the Governor of Thebes is being decorated with collars of honour.

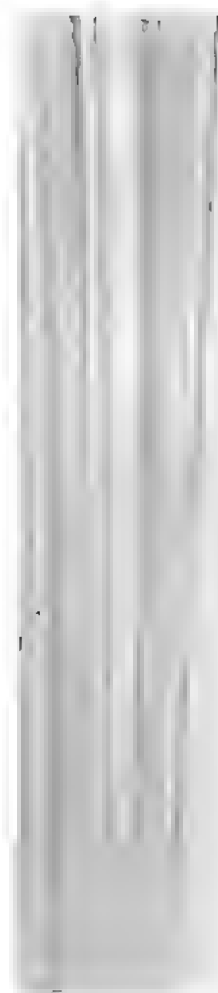
On a shelf appear other collars and also cups. Over the head of Ra-Mes is a much mutilated inscription in the nature of a hymn of praise.

The remaining subjects of this most interesting and unique monument I republish as described in my works of 1879 and 1881. I reserve them for next Chapter.

I may mention for the information of my uninitiated readers that Ra-Mes means "Child of the Sun," and Ptah Meri, "Loving Ptah."



A THOP





## CHAPTER XXXVIII.

Excavation of the Tomb—Unity of Design—The great Bas-relief—Translation of Address—Khou-en-Aten's Cartouches—Translation of Inscriptions—Speech of Ra-Mes' Sister—Speech of the Chiefs.

WHILE at Thebes in Jan. 1881, I continued the excavation of the tomb I discovered in 1879. I had cleared away the debris from one side on the first occasion, and I published in "Nile Gleanings" (Plate V., page 18) the bas-relief thus revealed. I had not then time to complete my investigations, nor to execute proper drawings. I am however now enabled to furnish my readers with the details from the façade to the left as well as of that to the right of the entrance. The tomb itself is of large size, the façade being 84 feet in length, with wings projecting at right angles east and west. It proved to have been the mausoleum of a Governor of Thebes, who flourished during the reign of Amunoph IV., and during the early years also of Khou-en-Aten's reign. Accordingly he has sculptured both these Kings upon the walls, one on each side of its portal.

Annexed are the two bas-reliefs (Plates XV. & XVI.), and I rely upon them as well as upon some other evidence to be presently mentioned, as conclusive proof that Amunoph IV. and Khou-en-Aten were not, as hitherto supposed, one and the same person, but that they were perfectly distinct; the first being a legitimate Egyptian king reigning in his own right, the other a

foreign adventurer reigning in right of his wife, who was, as I shall show, a daughter of Amunoph III. by the Semitic princess Taii, whom he married in the eighth year of his reign. An inspection of the two portraits reveals faces and figures the very antithesis of each other: the one stout and burly like the Amunophs and having the characteristic Amunoph features, looking as he sits there every inch a King and every inch an Amunoph. Underneath his throne are the effigies of nine nations whom he has conquered and proudly set under his feet. The other of lean, scraggy, figure, effeminate bearing, foreign and very peculiar features. The one is surrounded by the orthodox Egyptian gods, presented with the key of life by Ra, ministered to by the goddess Ma—invoking Horus, the Great God of Hut, to give him stability, life, and power. The other has discarded all the familiar native deities, and appears with a new and strange object of worship—the disc of the sun armed with hands.

The one has about him a set of Egyptian courtiers, including the orthodox Governor of Thebes, who addresses to him a hymn of praise, and recounts all his faithful service and all the benefits the King has heaped upon his head.

The other has surrounded himself with a suite of foreign courtiers having features as strange and outlandish as his own, wearing foreign dresses and great earrings, and differing in every respect from the native functionaries on the other side. He is accompanied by his wife, who is enthroned on an equality with himself. In an inscription found at Tel-el-Amarna, Thii is expressly called "Mother of the Queen."

An inspection of Plate XV. shows unity of design.

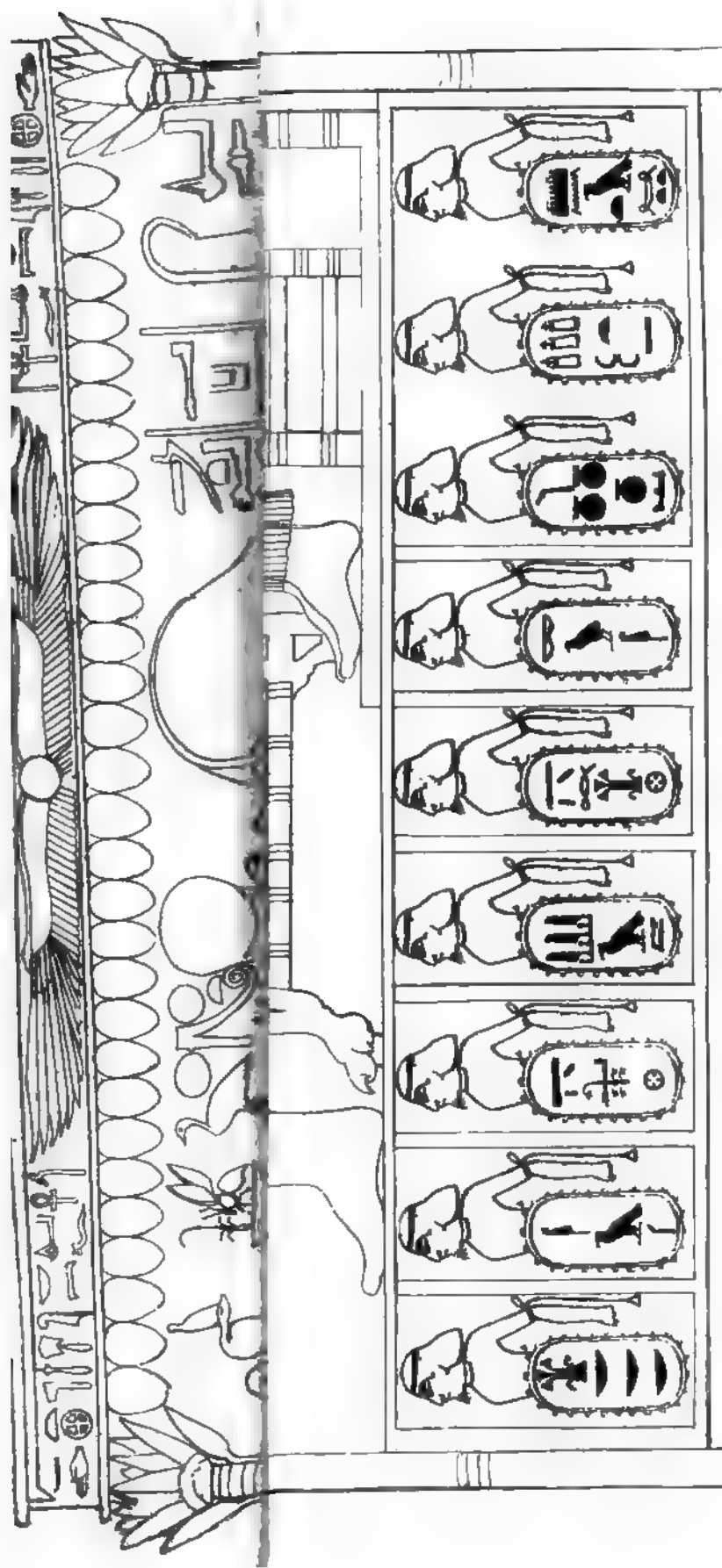
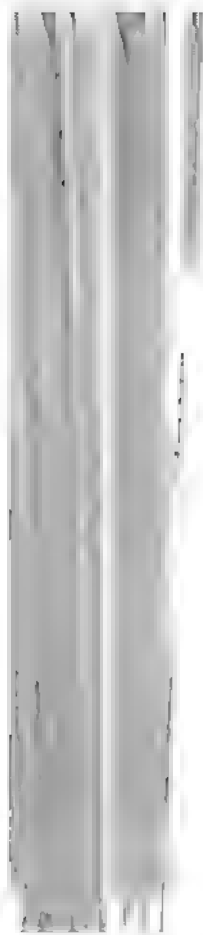


PLATE 16.

AMUNOPH III ENTHRONED IN STATE.

Bas-relief on facade of Tomb discovered by the Author at Thebes.



When the façade was planned, space was left for a great bas-relief on either side of the entrance. The doorway is in the centre, and on either side is a panel cut in the rock, 37 feet long. That on the right is devoted to Khou-en-Aten and his courtiers, that on the left to Amunoph IV. and his courtiers. The doorway, including its pilasters, is 10 feet wide, and gives admission to a large hall excavated in the rock and supported by eight square columns. This hall is 38 feet in length and 23 feet wide. The walls are plain and without sculpture or painting. At the back is a second doorway leading into an inner chamber, at the extremity of which is a recess containing the ruins of a triad of divinities seated side by side on a bench. These have been purposely destroyed. There is also a mummy pit, which has long ago been rifled of its contents.

The façade has been formed by cutting back the limestone rock, excavating a recess in it about 30 feet deep, 84 feet long, and 15 high; the devoting of an equal share to each King was evidently part of the original design. Khou-en-Aten and his courtiers were not tacked on as an after-thought, but the façade was planned expressly to provide space for bas-reliefs of the two Kings under whom the Governor Ra-Mes had served. We have on the left hand Amunoph attended by Egyptian courtiers and surrounded by the orthodox gods and inscriptions of a legitimate Egyptian king—on the right, Khou-en-Aten, attended by foreign courtiers, wearing strange dresses which never were seen before on any Egyptian monument, and were never seen again. They have also outlandish features, Semitic in character; each face is evidently a portrait.

The offices of several are inscribed in hieroglyphs, and the traits of all are stamped by a strong individuality.

I shall now proceed to explain the details of the great bas-relief to the left of the entrance. King Amunoph the Fourth is represented enthroned in a pavilion of very elegant design; the columns which support it represent lotus flowers, and buds bound together at intervals all the way down, and have a most graceful effect. The canopy overhead is adorned in the centre with a winged globe. This was the emblem of the Sun winging his way through space in his daily course; the inscription, which is repeated right and left of this ornament, must be read from the outside towards the centre, and runs thus: Hut Aa nuter Shou, Neb Pet, Tu Ef Ank, Ous; *i.e.*, "Of Hut the Great God, the Radiant Lord of the vault of Heaven, presents him (the King) with life and power." Characters 1 and 2 spell Hut (Edfoo); 3 and 4 are the definite article and the determinative for town; 5, 6 spell Great God; 7, 8, radiant; 9, 10, Lord of the Vault of Heaven; 11, gives; 12, him; 13, life; 14, power. The town of Hut was dedicated to Horus Ra, the morning sun; it was therefore christened Apollinopolis by the Greeks and Romans; *i.e.*, City of the Sun God, for they identified their Apollo with Horus. Apollo meaning *destroyer* (of Set)—darkness,—the precise function of Horus Ra; and the explanation of the myth of Apollo and the Python. This example illustrates how, though the gods of the Greek and Roman pantheon are most of them reproductions of Egyptian deities, their names were nevertheless quite different.

Under the canopy sits Amunoph, with his cartouches, names, and titles in front of him. The first oval con-

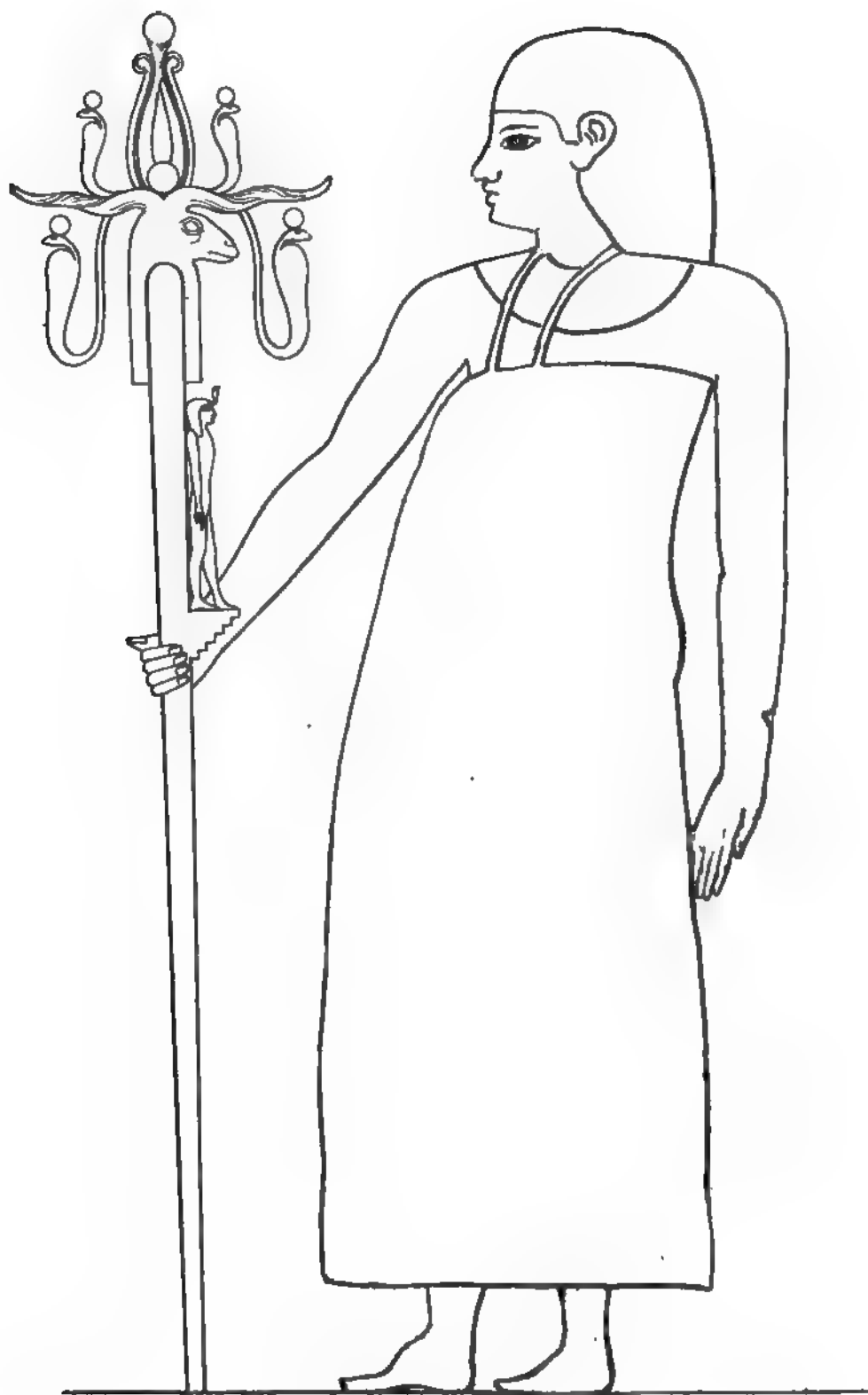
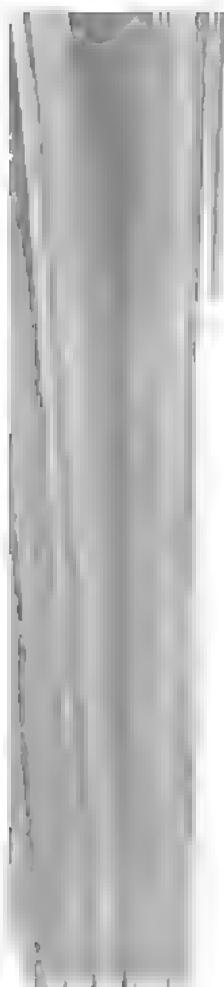


PLATE 19.

THE GOVERNOR OF THEBES.  
Bas-relief on façade of Tomb discovered by the Author









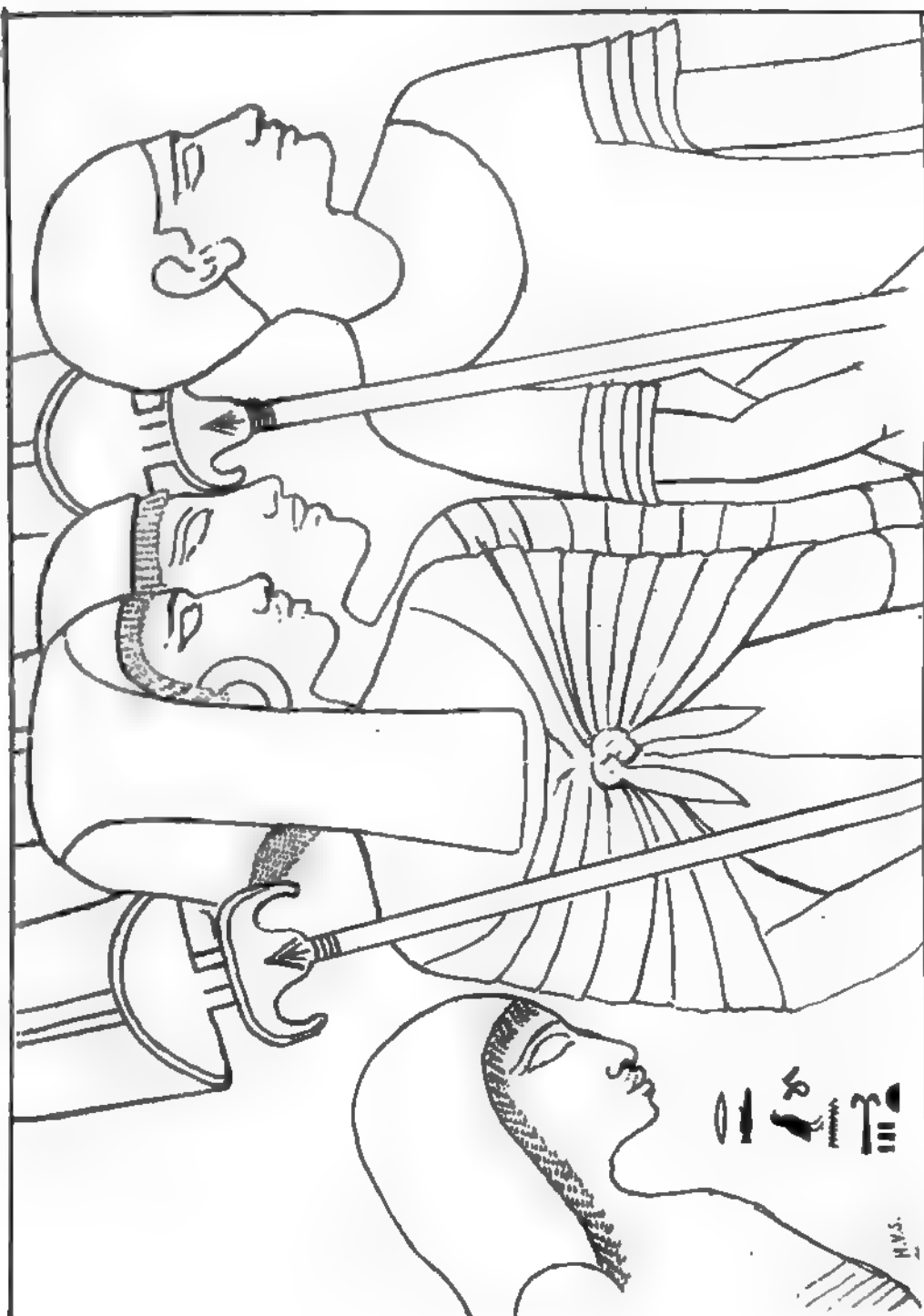
tains the name Nuter Hak Ouas Amen Hotep, *i.e.*, "Divine Lord of Thebes, devoted to Amen." It is surmounted by the title Sa Ra Mer Ef—"Son of Ra, beloved of him." The other oval has been destroyed by the scaling off of the surface. It is surmounted by the titles Kheb, Suten; these are usually taken to mean "Lord of Upper and Lower Egypt,"—they are, in fact, royal titles, much as if we should describe our own sovereign as "Victoria, Queen, Empress." That they do not in themselves mean the sovereignty of the two lands is proved by the addition below—Neb taoui, Lord of the Two Lands. Moreover, Ra sekanen, who was only King of Upper Egypt, uses the same two titles on his coffin, now at Boulak (see Plate XIII.) Underneath the first oval is the title, "Great in the duration (or career) of his life." The disk, and serpent with the emblem of life on its neck, rehearses, in fact, the inscription on the Canopy. Ra, invested with the Uraeus emblem of sovereignty, presents life to the King. Behind him sits a goddess, watching over him, protecting him from evil. The inscription overhead reads from the left top corner downwards in three columns, "Ma, the daughter of Ra, she who is in, *i.e.*, watches over, the palace, the Queen of the Vault of Heaven,—the Ruler of the Gods, endows (the King) with eternity of years." The three budding stems which Ma holds in her hand mean "years;" they are only a graceful repetition of the three characters at the right-hand bottom corner of the inscription. The features of the goddess are reproduced in the Plate in facsimile, as are those of the King. The throne on which the latter is seated is ornamented with the figure of a vulture enclosing the person of the King in its wings; this

signifies that Maut, the great Universal Mother, protects him—in its claw is the signet-ring, emblem of sovereign authority and power.

The nine captives beneath the throne are nine Nations whom the King has conquered. 1. The Ha Nebou—chiefs of the North—the Greeks, as appears from a bilingual inscription already referred to. 2. The Shoua (people of Shoa?). 3. Ta-a-res—the country of the South. 4. Sa mou—the Marsh country. 5. Ta Meha—the Land of the North. 6. Th . . . ou Shou. 7. The Tahennou. 8. The Pithanoui. 9. The Menatiset, *i.e.*, the Eastern Shepherds.

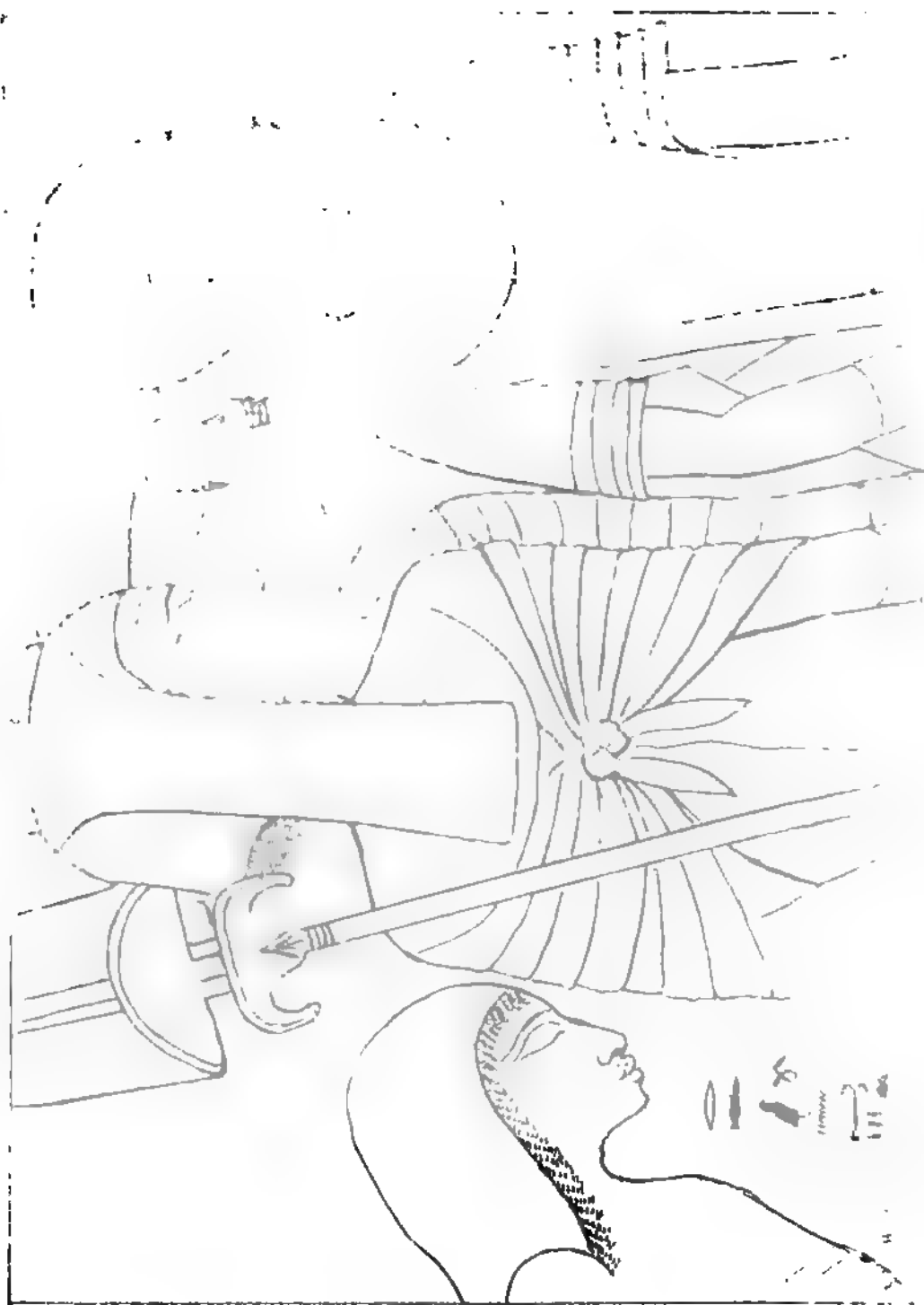
In front of the pavilion stand a row of courtiers headed by Ra-Mes, Governor of Thebes, who presents an address to his Majesty, which is inscribed on a tablet overhead, and of which I shall presently give a translation. Ra-Mes (Plate XIX.) holds in his hand a staff ornamented with a statuette of the King, probably of gold, on a bracket. The top of this wand of office consists of a head of Khnum Ra flanked by serpents. Observe the very peculiar dress of Ra-Mes: it looks like a great leather apron hanging from his neck to his knees. It is peculiar to the courtiers of Amunoph IV., and my explanation of it is that he, contrary to the usual slender habit of the Egyptians, being a stout burly man, his courtiers tried to make themselves look portly also by means of breadth of costume, on the principle that imitation is the truest flattery.







COURTLY OF 1920, IN A TEN  
1. 1920







STATUE OF KHOU-FN-ATEN.



## TRANSLATION OF THE COLUMN BEHIND RA-MES.

“Standing before the King—he comes to make his obeisance to Horus on the horizon, the governor of the city, governor of the county, Ra-Mes, proclaimed righteous.”

Plate XXVII. is the address of Ra-Mes, Governor of Thebes, to King Amunoph IV. Professor Wiedemann of Leipzig, who accompanied me on one of my visits to this tomb, very kindly undertook to assist me and to save me time and trouble, by translating the whole of the inscriptions for me. He is a young Egyptologist of great promise, and possesses wonderful facility and acumen in dealing with inscriptions of all kinds. He translates the address as follows :—

## TRANSLATION.

“Address of the governor of the city (of Thebes) and governor of the county (nomos), Ra-Mes, proclaimed righteous, to the Divine personage (the King). He makes his obeisance to his father . . . Lord of Nestaoui (Karnac) on the part of the inhabitants of the towns. He is honoured. He is beloved. He is divinely gifted . . . He kills thy enemies from life to death. He makes thee firmly seated on thy throne over all the living . . . All life, all power to thee ! . . .

“All health to thee. Thou art like unto Ra day by day. It is spoken by the Roset to the Holy one, (it is spoken by) the governor of the city and governor of the county, Ra-Mes, proclaimed righteous, to the Divine personage. He makes his obeisance to his father the living Ra, joy is in the horizon at his name at the

name of Khou-en-Aten. He is honoured, he is beloved, he is endowed with graces. He gives to thee eternity of years, he accomplishes for thee the periods of festivals of 30 years anniversaries. All countries are under thy feet, he kills thy enemies from life to death, every pleasure is for thee, all health is for thee, all life is for thee. Thou art established upon the throne of Ra for all time."

I shall now proceed to describe the bas-relief to the right of the entrance. Khou-en-Aten and his Queen are represented enthroned in a two-storied pavilion, attended by courtiers; their Majesties are both defaced. The features of the Queen are quite undistinguishable, but those of the King can still be discerned (Plate XVII.); he has the long nose and chin which characterize all the representations of him at Tel-el-Amarna, and wears a dress gathered in pleats round his shoulders. Behind the pavilion are groups of courtiers, seven of whom carry in their hands the emblems of nobility—the golden ostrich feathers mounted on a staff. One of them wears large earrings, and the wand bearers all have shawls tied in a knot across their breasts. I never met with an instance of an Egyptian man represented with earrings. The shawls are quite foreign, and so are the double petticoats, the upper one of which is scolloped; the features of all the courtiers are, as I have pointed out before, entirely foreign—in my opinion they are Semitic; they are not conventional faces, each of them bears evidence of being a portrait, no two are alike, and they all possess strongly marked individuality of feature and expression. Several of them have their offices inscribed

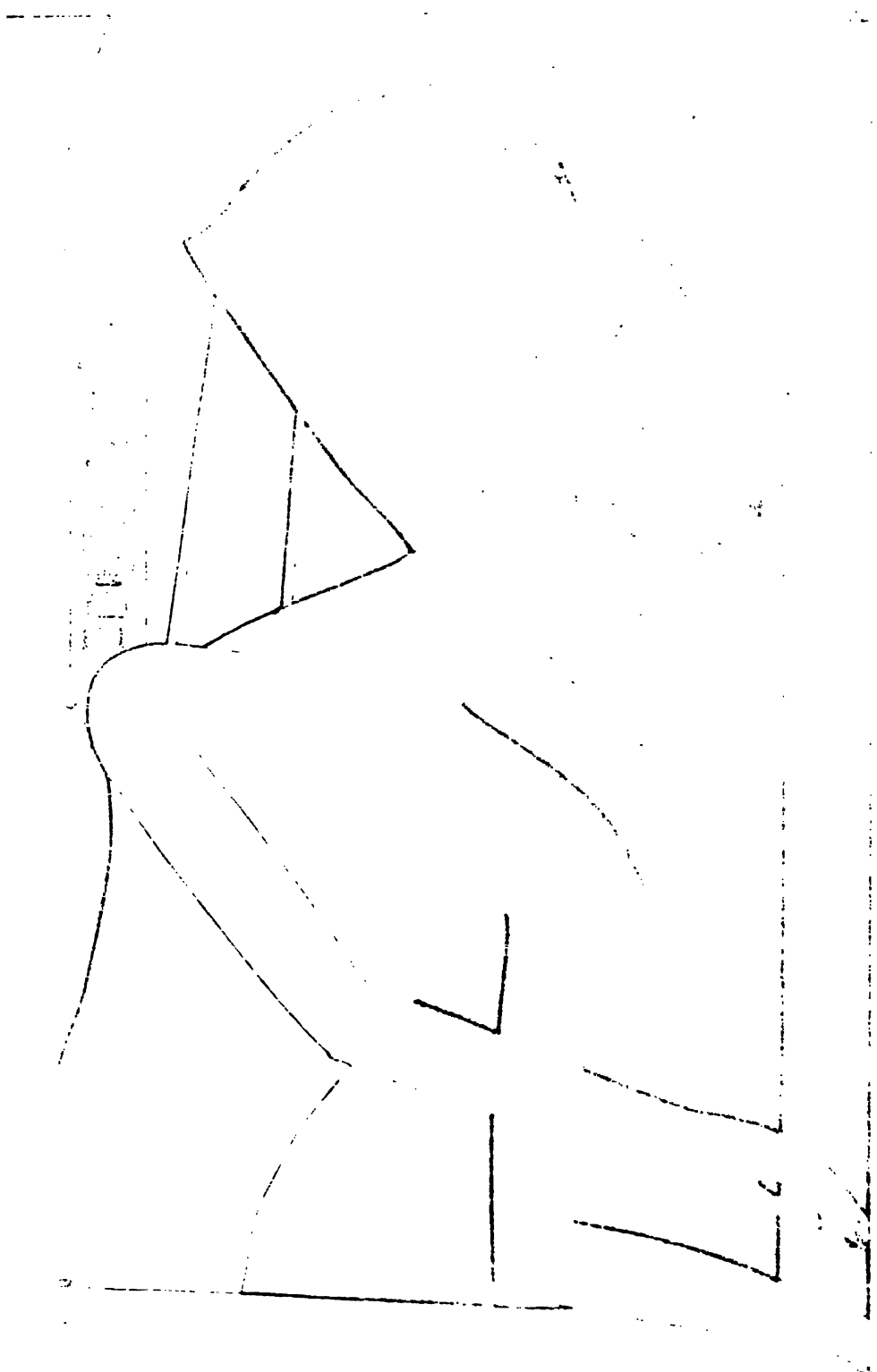




PLATE 17

KHOU-EN-ATEN

Photo Lithographed from cast of Bas-relief on Tomb of Rameses



AT 10

KHOHEN-ATEN FROM BAS-RELIEF AT EL AMARNA



FIG. 1

FIG. 2

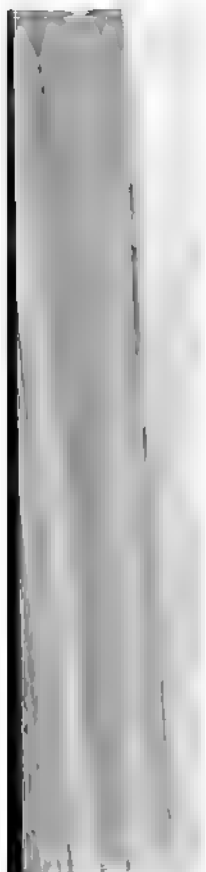
FIG. 3





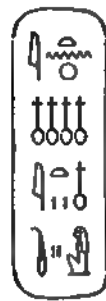
E 18

KHOU-EN-ATEN FROM BAS-RELIEF AT TEL EL AMARNA



below them in front; one is Superintendent of the Hareem, another is Commander of the Forces, another is Minister of Agriculture.

The ovals right and left of the sundisk which sheds down its rays upon the royal pair are the solar cartouches which are associated constantly with Khou-en-Aten's name at Tel-el-Amarna. They are figured in "Nile Gleanings," page 77; and are the two ovals to the right of the series. The first of the other two is the oval of the Queen, the second is that of the King, borrowed from his predecessor.



Oval of the Queen.



Oval of the King.



Ovals of Aten.

I annex the oval adopted by Khou-en-Aten in addition to those of Amunoph IV., and which was peculiar to him. The reason why the priests respected the Amunoph cartouche when they chipped out the rest, is because it contains the revered name of Amen.



The same superstitious scruple may be noticed in other cases of mutilated names; thus at Deir-el-Bahari when Thothmes III. erased his sister Hatesou's name wherever it occurred, he always left the syllable Amen untouched; her whole name was Amen Khnoum-te-ha-te-sou, with the surname of Ma-ka-ra added; of all

this only the Amen survives on the façade of the temple, though in out-of-the-way places in the interior her names are still perfect, having apparently escaped observation.

Among other testimony disproving the identity of the two Kings is the fact that when the priests chipped out the one with very great care to testify their resentment at the heresy he introduced, and to protest against his right to the throne, his wife's mother having been a foreigner and not therefore in the line of legitimate royal descent —they left the other untouched and quite perfect, recognizing in him both an orthodox believer in Amen and a legitimate sovereign.

It will be observed in Plate XV. that the Queen is bareheaded; she wears, however, in her hair the royal Asp. She appears in considerable danger of sunstroke. It is worth noting that she does not wear a hood nor a wig, but her own hair, which is straight, not curled or waved. At Tel-el-Amarna her head-dress is a modification of the royal crown peculiar to the reigning Pharaoh. No doubt this was in recognition of the right to the throne being vested in her as daughter of Amunoph III. by Taii or Thii the Mesopotamian princess, who is stated in inscriptions to be *mother of the Queen*. (See "Nile Gleanings," Plate LIV.)

In Plate XVIII. a column of hieroglyphs may be observed behind the King. These read, "Child of the consort of the King Nofre-nofrou-ti-ti-Aten, living for ever and to all eternity," and refer to one of the Queen's daughters, Ankesenaten; the remainder of the tableau, representing the Queen and her daughters, will be found in "Nile Gleanings," page 72. In this tableau the royal family are represented at a window in the palace,

distributing collars of honour to their subjects, who are assembled below.


The marked mention of the daughters as children of the Queen confirms, were further confirmation needed, the fact of the royal descent being in her, and renders it certain that Khou-en-Aten reigned in her right, and was not the son of Amunoph III. The question is, however, settled most conclusively of all by the positive statement in the inscriptions at Tel-el-Amarna that Thii was mother of *the Queen*. The inscription refers to her visit to Tel-el-Amarna, and it was evidently celebrated as a very great occasion, and she was treated with special honour as being the Queen-mother.

Both at Thebes and at Tel-el-Amarna, Khou-en-Aten is represented with markedly Semitic features, and is utterly unlike the Amunophs, nor can it be maintained that they were conventional representations and not portraits. The sculptures of his reign are less conventional and more realistic than are to be found at any other era of Egyptian art. I make this remark because some have tried to explain away the difference between the two Kings right and left of the entrance by suggesting that the eccentric representation may have been adopted by his Majesty's command. Had that been so, he would have caused all previous portraits to be altered to suit the new pattern. A sphinx of this reign has been discovered, and it has the same peculiar features as the King. It was customary to give sphinxes the features of the reigning sovereign. Underneath the left-hand tower of the pavilion may be observed a bird squatting on a bowl; this is the sacred Bennou, the origin of the Phoenix: it represents a green plover, and reads "Lord of the Bennou," French, *vanneau*.

It is worth noting that the Egyptian priests after his death avenged his introduction of the rival Semitic worship of the Aten disc, by carefully chiselling out the figures and faces both of him and of his half Semitic wife, but they respected and left untouched the bas-relief of Amunoph IV., his orthodox predecessor. With respect to the question of the adopted ovals he appears here with a third; they may be seen sculptured side by side at the bottom of the two wings of his pavilion. Although the device upon them has been erased, the fact that he at that time used three ovals, one of which must have differed from Amunoph's, is proved. Later on he discarded the Amunoph ovals altogether, and substituted cartouches of his own devising. That he reigned in his wife's right and not in his own is proved by inscriptions at Tel-el-Amarna, mentioning a visit paid to them by the Queen-mother Taii—the widow of Amunoph III. She is therein spoken of as *mother of the Queen*, not of the King. Their children are also described as children of the Queen, not of the King (see "Nile Gleanings," page 73). That the representations of Khou-en-Aten are portraits, and not mere conventional representations, is proved incidentally by the fact that in the group of the Queen and her daughters figured in "Nile Gleanings," Plate LIV., page 72, one of them strongly resembles her father, the second resembles her mother, and the third is a cross between the two. A cast of this bas-relief may be inspected at the British Museum in the Egyptian room.

Another circumstance confirming my view that the right of royal succession was in the Queen, not in her husband, is that she wears not a princess's diadem, but a modification of the crown of Upper and Lower

Egypt. Ha-te-sou is the only other Queen so represented.

These two Kings present the strongest possible contrast to each other in figure, in feature, in expression, in bearing and attitude. The only link between them is the fact that two of the cartouches are common to both. Khou-en-Aten however, has a third cartouche, the device in which is so completely chiselled out that it cannot be identified. The  is omitted.

On the monuments several children of Amunoph III. are mentioned, including a son named Amunoph—Prince of Kush, and a daughter whose name has been defaced, but of whom it is pointedly added that she is born of “Royal consort *Taii*.” This is not said of the other daughters, nor of the son. (See Plate XXVIII., No. 18.) There can be no doubt that the daughter whose name has been carefully chiselled out, is Nofre-titi. The addition of the mother’s name is quite unusual. It may also be taken for granted that this Prince of Kush was no other than that Amunoph IV. whose burly figure is sculptured on the left of the entrance, and that the Queen enthroned on the other side, behind Khou-en-Aten, is that daughter of Thii above referred to, and that the lean personage in front of her is her foreign husband, Khou-en-Aten.

Those who in the teeth of all the evidence above adduced would still insist that these two personages are identical must be prepared to maintain the extraordinary hypothesis that Ra-Mes had two portraits of his sovereign done, one in his sane condition with his true features and proper surroundings, the other in his mad phase with imaginary features, figure and bearing, and with surroundings in every respect different, and that the stout middle-aged personage on the left of the

entrance, threw overboard all the religious convictions of his previous life, chose a new religion, surrounded himself with new and foreign courtiers, and gave orders that henceforth he should be represented not in his true aspect but caricatured, and bearing not the least resemblance to himself! Surely it would be a far less monstrous theory to suppose that being a foreigner, without a cartouche of his own, he as a matter of policy, borrowed the ovals of the last legitimate sovereign; the fact that he set so little store by them as presently to discard them and adopt new ones renders this all the less difficult to believe. It may seem scarcely worth while to take so much pains about one passage in the history of the eighteenth dynasty, but truth is the very object of history, and every point that can be placed in its true light is worth rescuing from error.

Having now completed the description of the two great bas-reliefs, I shall notice some other inscriptions. One occurs just within the entrance on the door jambs, two more are over the doorway behind the figures worshipping the sun.

TRANSLATION OF INSCRIPTION ON RIGHT-HAND  
JAMB OF DOORWAY.

“Spoken by the prince priest, the intendant of the royal palace. The governor of the city, the governor of the county, Ra-Mes, proclaimed righteous. I am going to my tomb with the honours of the good God, I was honoured by the king according to my deserving. I never exceeded the limits of his commands, I never did any the least evil to any that he loves; OVER my grave on the west of Thebes I unite myself to my heavenly home. Spoken by the Rosetha—the land superintendent . . . he who is over all good works, all public



undertakings, the keeper of the seal, the governor of the city, the governor of the county, Ra-Mes, proclaimed righteous. Oh ye gods of the deep, ye great Deities in the other world, open for me the path to the Lord of eternity. I value Him who creates terror, I tread the precincts of your home, I pray amid the almighty ones who there follow thee (meaning Osiris), I hold in my hands the offerings before your divine Majesty ; while I pray to the good being (Osiris) grant ye me for my heart that which it loves, according to my deeds on earth. I ever made offerings diligently to the Deities of the deep (Amenti), I adored the divine triad of Toun. I prepared sacrifices to the husband of his mother (Amen Chnumis). The King of Kings lent me what to him seemed good for his temple of Amen. The King's consort, the King's children, adored Amen's person. I never ceased reciting the names of the Gods on the morning of each day.

“The honoured, the beloved by the Lord of the two lands, (the King) the priest, the prophet of the Goddess Ma, the governor of the city, the governor of the County Ra-Mes, proclaimed righteous.”

It appears from the foregoing that Amunoph IV. built, or added to the Temple of Amen, whereas we know that Khou-en-Aten was the enemy of Amen worship, and erased his name wherever he could. It is also stated in the above address that Amunoph's wife and children adored Amen. But we know that the wife and children of Khou-en-Aten did not adore Amen, they adored his rival Aten to the exclusion of Amen. The whole quarrel of the Egyptian priesthood against them was that they were the declared enemies of Amen and

abolished his worship. Moreover, at the time these inscriptions were executed it is clear that Khou-en-Aten had no children; when the royal pair came to have children they are always represented accompanying them on public occasions. Ra-Mes must have died early in Khou-en-Aten's reign.

#### INSCRIPTION ON LEFT-HAND DOOR JAMB.

Here the text is much injured, but enough remains to show that it was a hymn to Horus Ra. It begins with the usual titles and offices of Ra-Mes; then occur these fragments: "He trod the deeps of Heaven and Earth, Ra-Toum Harmachis, Lord of Heaven, Lord of the Earth, who created all the things of Heaven, Lord of Heliopolis, Lord of Thebes . . . . in the chapels . . . . he steps thither and is worshipped within the temple of . . . . he rises out of the deep upon the heavenward road and proceeds thither. Lord of men, Father of the Gods, King of Upper and Lower Egypt, the Gods approach him with obeisances." Here follow broken fragments.

#### SPEECH OF THE SISTER OF RA-MES.

"Adoration to Ra when he rises on the horizon on the morning of each day from his sister the palacide of Amen, the lady of the house—Ptah meri—proclaimed righteous."

The expression Lady of the House is interesting. She evidently kept house for her brother, who seems to have been unmarried.

Over the entrance to the right also much is broken, but the following fragments are distinguishable: "May he grant apparel, incense, thousands of all funeral offerings. \* \* \* \* \*

“An-mut-ef grants him libations. Thoth grants offerings to the hereditary prince, the familiar of the king, he is going with his lord, beloved by the lord of the two countries Ab-ba-ouef. He enters the palace, he goes forth with honours, he is rejoiced by honours—joy is about the things going out of his mouth, the master of the seal, the governor of the city, governor of the country, Ra-Mes, proclaimed righteous. Offerings to Ma, the beloved daughter of Ra, that she may grant that he be united to his tomb which he constructed in the west (*i.e.* in Western Thebes, where this tomb is situated). Offering to Anubis in the halls of the Gods, that he may grant that his body may revive (literally bud forth) again in Amenti, and that his body may not be disturbed in his grave.” Then follow again his titles.

In another part of the tomb the brother and sister are represented engaged together in the worship of the Goddess of the West (Plate VI.). This bas-relief is brightly coloured; the upper part has been subjected to the action of fire, but on the lower part, which has evidently been buried for ages, the colours are nearly as fresh as when first laid on. 192

Over the entrance, the left-hand inscription is almost entirely destroyed, but remnants of the name and titles of Amunoph IV. are discernible, followed by these fragments:—

“Offerings of the King to Ra . . . . . to Seb  
 . . . . . The nine Great Gods . . . . .  
 the nine lesser deities . . . . . their temples  
 . . . . . all flowers . . . . . Horus in  
 his house . . . . . I loved the truth, I hated  
 lies, the keeper of the seal . . . the superintendent  
 of works on the great architectural undertakings,

chief of the prophets of the Gods," &c. Here follow the usual titles.

I may add with reference to Plate XV. that the outer columns of the pavilion of Amunoph IV. are surmounted with papyrus-flower capitals, the inner with lotus flowers, representing Southern and Northern Egypt respectively. Immediately under the papyrus on either side, and between the two pillars, the standard of Amunoph IV. is carved; it consists of the Crowned Horus hawk, with the Ra-disk *Uræus* and emblem of life behind it; underneath these the Bull and sign for victorious; underneath that again the emblems of chieftainship, with a man with upraised arms, and the letter K, spelling Hak (Governor); underneath that again a square coffer with three projections, with the signification of which I am unacquainted. The scale of the drawing was too small to allow of the introduction of this standard between the columns. Khou-en-Aten also had a standard, but it was quite different from that of his predecessor. (See Plate XXVIII., inscription No. 11.)

In taking leave of the controversy of the identity or otherwise of Khou-en-Aten and Amunoph IV., I may mention that the latter had a wife, whose name and oval are different from those of the Queen of the former. (See Plate XXVIII., inscription No. 15.)

While exploring the interior of this tomb, I met with an accident which seriously interfered with my further explorations. I foolishly entered an inner chamber of the tomb without a light, and I stumbled into a mummy pit upwards of twenty feet deep. I broke my ankle and was otherwise much injured; the Arabs got me out by making a rope of their turbans and clothes,

which they tied together. I shall always think better of the natives for the good-natured concern which they showed on the occasion of this accident. Not far off are a number of tombs which are occupied by a sort of gipsy population; these came swarming out and surrounded us, and expressed the warmest sympathy, and for a wonder refrained from asking for backsheesh; the women stroked me down with their hands, and they were all eager to give what assistance they could.

The misfortune I have described must be my apology for the incompleteness of my previous explorations, as I was unable to carry out all the excavations I had intended, and it also interfered with the completion of my drawings of this tomb.

I am much surprised to find in the "Comptes Rendus," Paris, 1882, vol. x. p. 288, the following passage: "M. Bouriant a été chargé en 1882 de diriger des fouilles dans le nécropole Thébaine. Il a *découvert* le tombeau d'un fonctionnaire du nom de Rames, qui vivait sous le 18<sup>me</sup> dynastie à l'époque des princes dits hérétiques." As I in January, 1879, discovered the bas-relief of the Heretical prince referred to, and cleared away the rubbish beneath which it was hidden; and *published* it the same year together with an account of my discovery, I think further comment is unnecessary as to this attempt to make of it a French discovery in the year 1882! The compilers of the "Comptes Rendus" ought, above all things, to ensure that the accounts they render are accurate and reconcilable with facts.

I shall take this opportunity of presenting my readers with the translation of an inscription which occurs in the left-hand corner of Plate XLVII. of "Nile Gleanings," facing page 130. It is a hymn of praise

sung by the officers of Rameses and their prisoners on the occasion of their presentation to the King by his son, and is interesting as an example of ancient Egyptian poetry.

SPEECH OF THE CHIEFS ON BEHOLDING HIS MAJESTY.

“ Oh Avenger by thine own hand. Oh Avenger, good ruler, twice beloved son of Ammon manifested in his members.

“ Thou hast rendered thy Glory manifest in the world.

“ Like Ra above the gate of the two horizons of the sun thy Chariot comes rapidly to the gates of Egypt. Thy glory is also in the men that inhabit the region of Vigilance.

“ Thou hast rendered illustrious the Royal diadem; thy glory is their support.

“ From the womb or substance of thy Mother Isis thou wast made glorified . . . of the years like Toun.

“ Governor, doubly, being commander in the region of the South and of the North as Phtha ta Totanen is of Lower Egypt.

“ Beneath thy feet is the foreign land of the Schari\* and the land of the Cushites.

“ He carries the insignia of victory into the presence, to the left hand of the King, the young royal Secretary Ameni, &c., &c., son of the King of his own body begotten, whom his father loves.”

\* The Arab tribe still known as the Bischari or Bishareen. (See Plate LIV.)

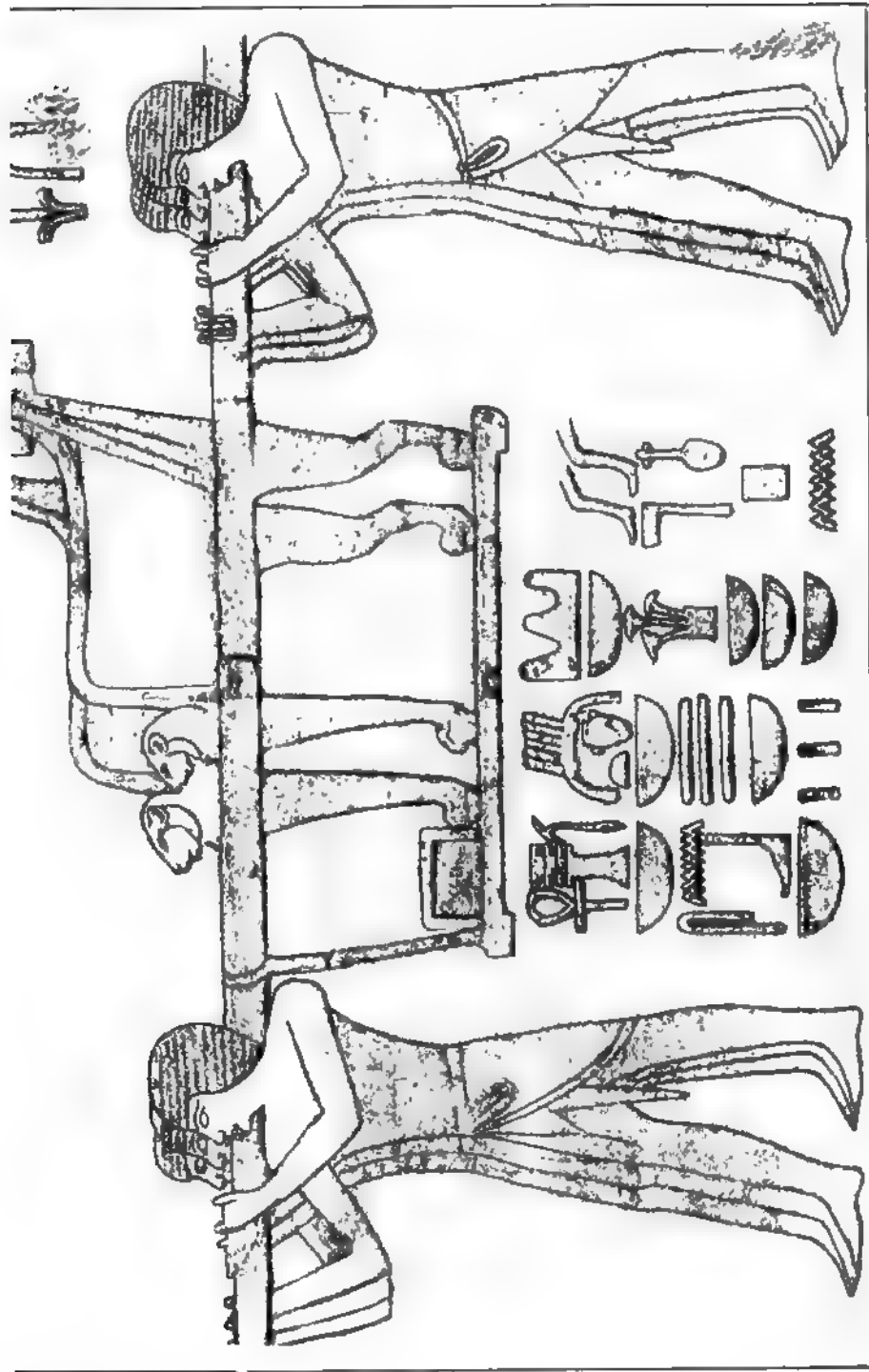
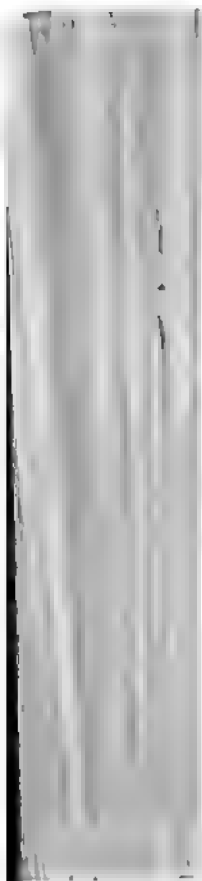


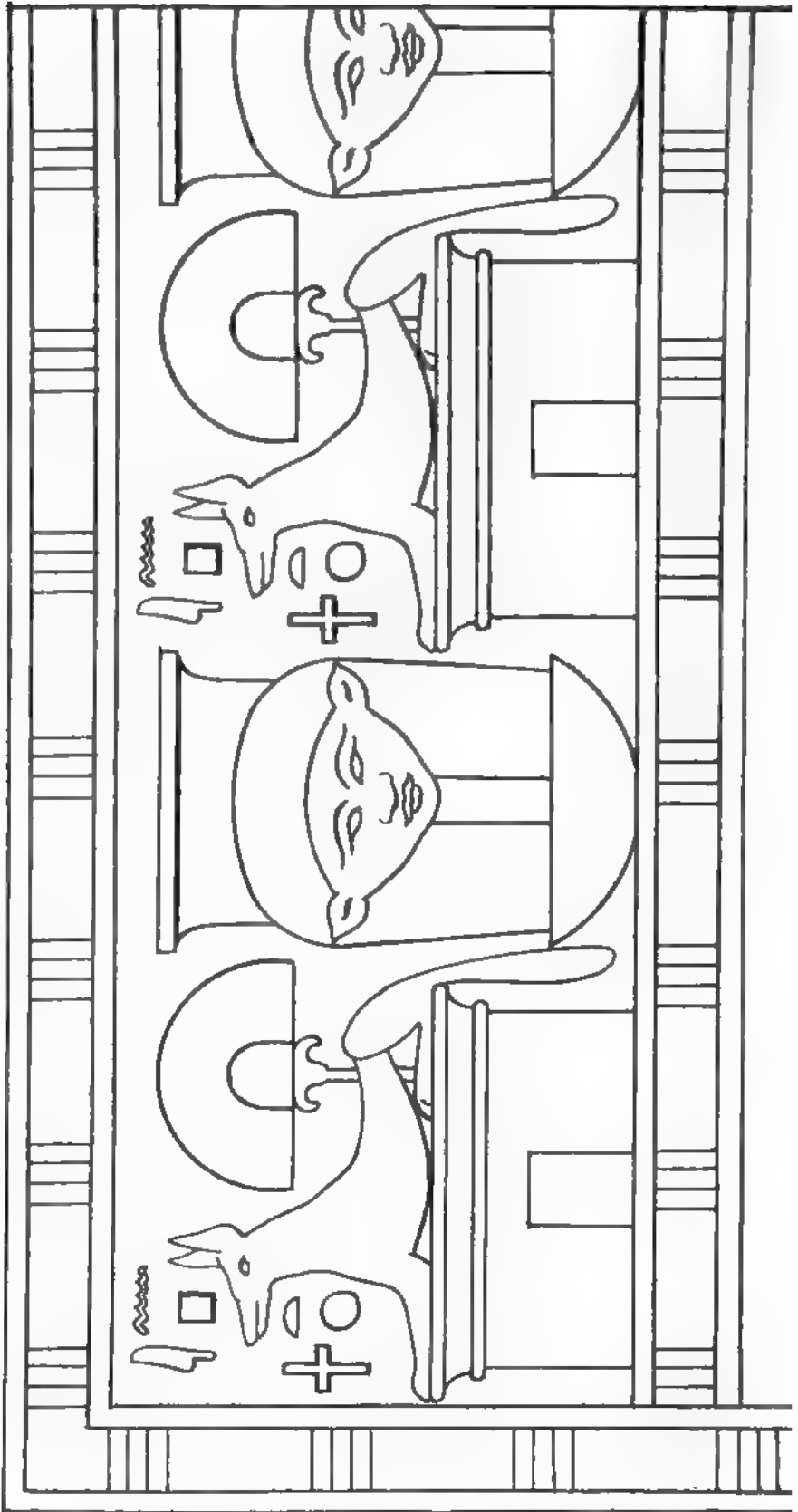
PLATE 22

LITTER OF THOTHMES I PASRELIEF DEIR EL-BAHARI.









## CHAPTER XXXIX.

### MISCELLANEOUS PLATES.

Destruction of Bas-reliefs—Litter of Thothmes I.—A caged Lion—The Egyptian Navy—Mummy of Ra-Sekanen—Text on Mummy Case of Queen Notemit—Mummy of Thothmes III.—Mummies of the Seventeenth, Eighteenth, and Nineteenth Dynasties.

THE process of destruction is going on so rapidly at Deir-el-Bahari, that I have thought it well to publish further drawings of its bas-reliefs before they disappear for ever. Some of the subjects which appeared in "Nile Gleanings" have already been stolen or destroyed—that is the case with the tableau of the archers of Queen Ha-te-Sou, figured Plate XXXI., page 293. I learned that the stones had been carried away in a dehabeeah by some travellers, and I observed that a considerable portion of the wall had been pulled down and destroyed to get at it—the whole temple had been terribly wrecked since my last visit in 1879.

Plate XXII. is the litter or carrying chair of Thothmes I. This article appears on board one of the ships, and probably was taken with the fleet to represent the King. Queen Ha-te-Sou reigned jointly with her father during the latter years of his life, and jointly with her brothers Thothmes II. and III. in succession after his death. At the time of the expedition to the land of Pount, Thothmes I. was evidently still living. He appears after its

return marching on foot to offer thanks to Amen, and to attribute to him the glory of its success.

The faces are all fac-similes, and are worth attention from an ethnological point of view; there is a great deal of character and individuality about all the faces in the Deir-el-Bahari sculptures.

Underneath the litter may be observed a block of hieroglyphics: these read from the left top corner. "All life, permanence, power! all health! all joy! to the Lord of the countries, to the Lord of the Chiefs of the North—to this Good God who comes." The phonetic value of the characters is "Ank Tat Ous Neb, Senib neb fouab neb taou nebou neb Ha-nebou . . . nuter nofre pen."

Over the heads of the rear bearers are some nearly obliterated hieroglyphics which state the bearers to be priests.

Plate XXIII. represents part of the deck of one of the ships of the fleet, on which a lion is stowed in his cage. This beast was one of the presents sent to the Queen by the Chief of Pount. He has not more room in it than Jumbo had in his box on board the *Assyrian Monarch*, but the cage is much more artistic than that which figured so prominently in the Jumbo episode. In the corner is an oval containing the Queen's name protected by the vulture wings.

Three keepers are leaning against the cage, stick in hand.

An interesting fact about the ships of this Egyptian sea-going fleet is that they were braced up on the girder principle; this was to enable them to bear the straining to which they would be exposed in a heavy sea—for vessels which would do well enough on the smooth

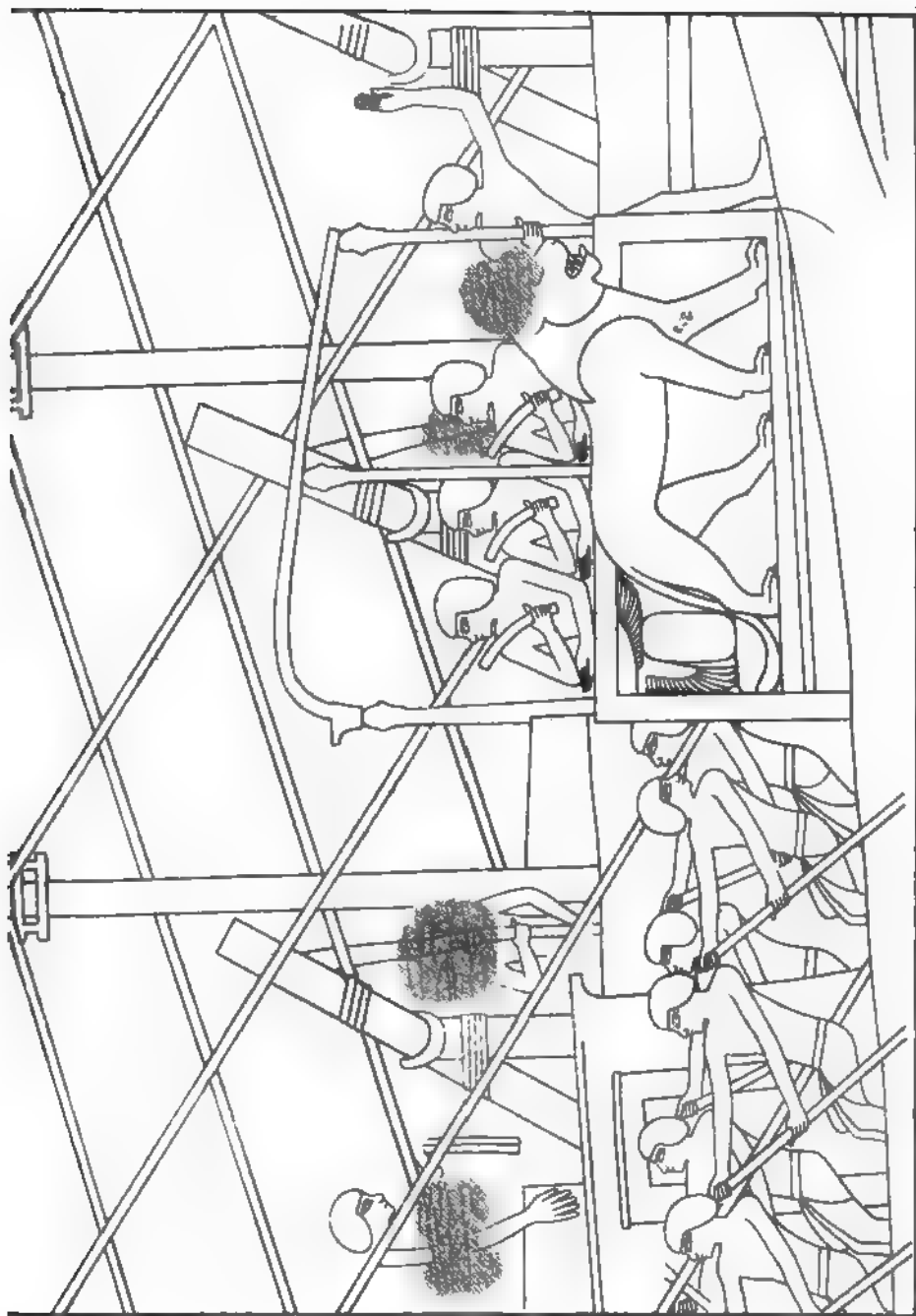
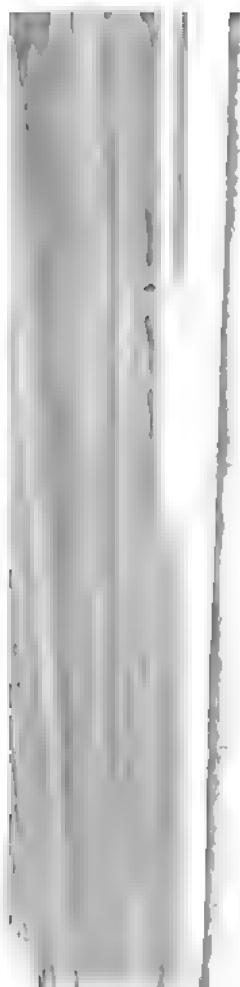
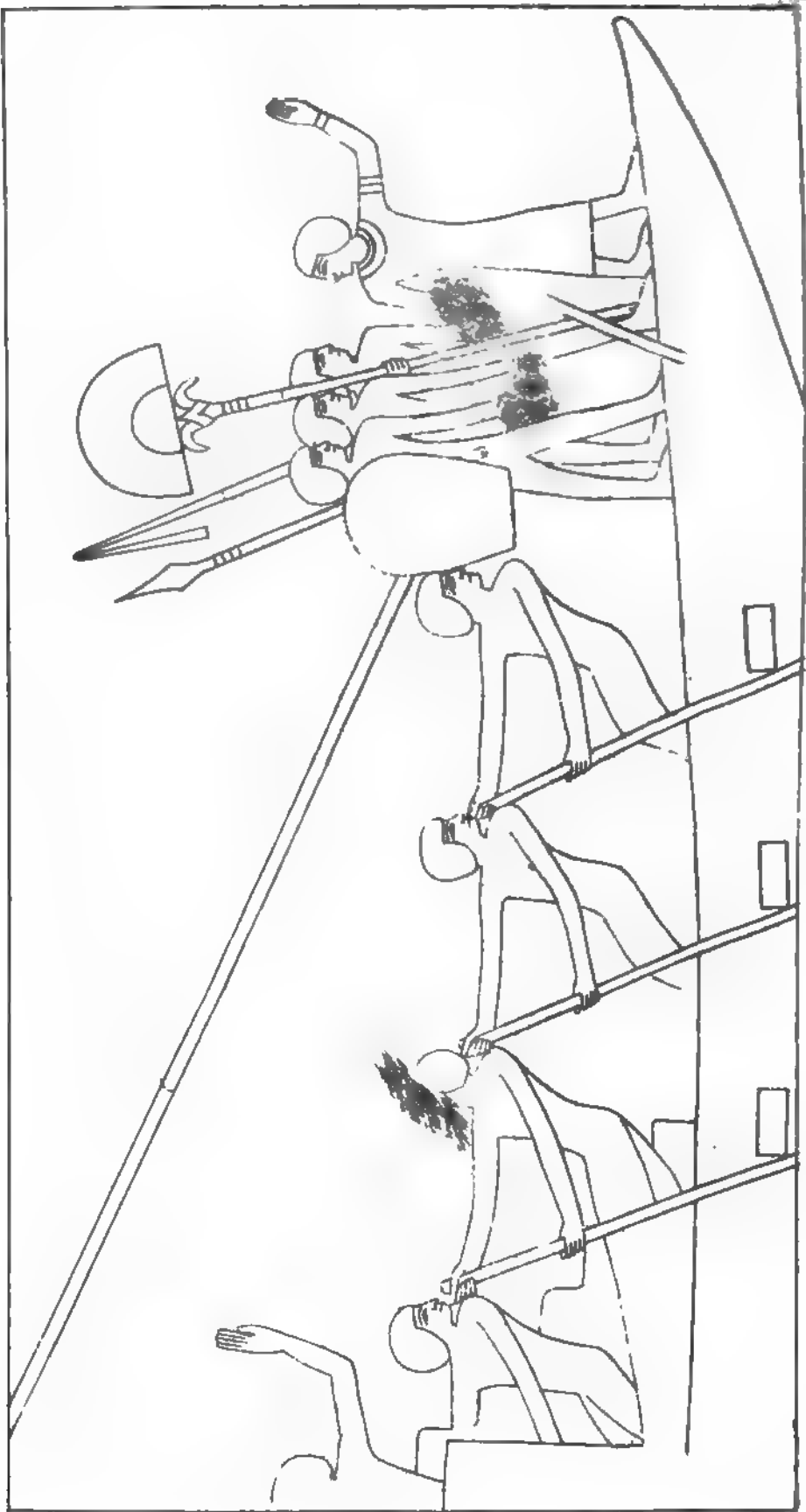


PLATE 23

QUEEN HA-TE-SOUS LION IN HIS CAGE ON BOARD SHIP.









waters of the Nile, would break their backs in a sea way. We flatter ourselves that it has been reserved for the nineteenth century A.D. to discover the principle of the diagonally-braced girder, yet we here find that that principle was known and applied in the 17th century B.C., 36 centuries ago.

To the left one of the deck cabins is introduced. The attitude of the sailors in rowing may be observed. The oars worked against projecting timbers fastened to the side of the vessel. I regret that I have not space in this work for a drawing of the entire ship, as the details are very interesting and instructive.

One of the sub-officers is looking back and transmitting instructions with voice and hand as they approach the shore; some of the sailors too are looking round towards the land they are approaching.

Plate XXIV. represents the bow of the same ship with a party of soldiers preparing to jump on shore the moment they touch land. The officer who stands in advance is exclaiming "straight for shore," as appears from an inscription in front of him; a sub-officer is transmitting his orders as in Plate XXIII. One of the soldiers carries his shield, another a standard; to the left steps may be observed leading to the upper deck.

On this spar deck in other parts of the bas-relief officers are standing armed with whips wherewith to encourage diffident oarsmen and keep them up to the mark.

The ships are represented advancing in line parallel to each other. The bows of some of them are plain, others are ornamented with lotus-flower figure-heads; there are many cabins. The thick spars (Plate XXIII.) which work between jaws fixed on the top of posts seem to be connected with the steering of the ship, for

at each of them a man is stationed holding ropes so attached as to enable him to raise or lower the spar.

Some Egyptologists have mooted the question whether the eighteenth dynasty may not have immediately succeeded the twelfth. The other intermediate dynasties being collateral, I only notice this theory to point out how utterly untenable it is; the lengthened occupation of Northern Egypt, the Delta, and the Fayoom, by Semitic invaders, is as certain as any historic fact can be. During this interval took place the visit of Abraham, the bondage of Joseph, and the hospitable reception of Jacob and his family and their settlement in Goshen. Well, when did this interval occur? Not during the twelfth dynasty, for its kings held Egypt in a firm grasp from end to end, and built temples and raised obelisks from the Cataracts to the Mediterranean,—are not their remains in evidence to this day? and the early kings of the thirteenth dynasty did the same. Not during the eighteenth dynasty, for they gave even stronger proofs of their thorough mastery over the entire Nile valley, invading Syria and Cyprus besides.

But we have documentary evidence of a period immediately preceding the eighteenth dynasty, during which the kings of Upper Egypt were the vassals of the Hyksos who reigned at Memphis and Auaris, and were beginning to rebel against their authority, a struggle which was terminated by the first king of the eighteenth dynasty by the capture of Auaris, the last stronghold of the foreign invaders, and their final expulsion from Egypt. We actually now possess the mummy of the vassal king of the collateral seventeenth dynasty, who raised the standard of rebellion and battled stoutly with the strangers. The mummy of Ra-Sekanen was recovered

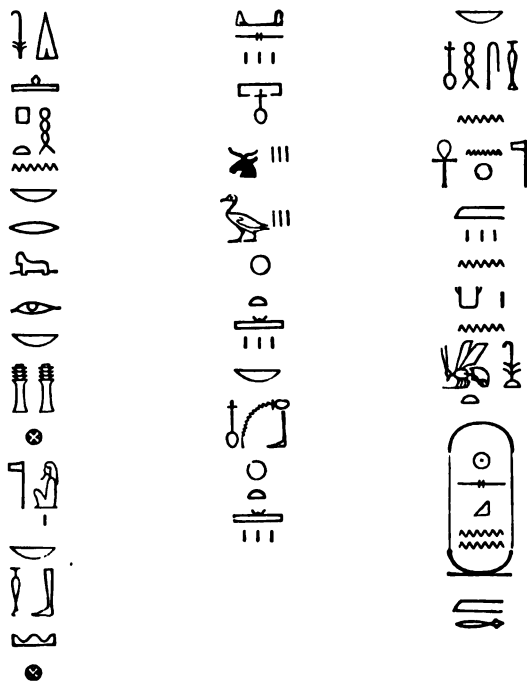


. 13.

MUMMY CASE CONTAINING THE BODY OF RA SEKANEN.  
OF THE 17<sup>TH</sup> DYNASTY CONTEMPORARY OF JOSEPH



the other day from its hiding place at Deir el Bahari, and I have thought it worth while to portray it in Plate XIII. It will be seen that there is a good deal of character and expression in the features. Eyes of crystal or enamel had once occupied the now empty sockets, and must have given it a still more life-like appearance. As a work of art this mummy case ranks far above any that I have ever seen. It is, in fact, a portrait statue carved in wood, and has every appearance of having been a truthful rendering of the original. The inscription, which is engraved down the centre of the case, is as follows:—



## TRANSLATION.

"Supreme offering to Pthah the Lord of (the region of the grave) Rustau, and to Osiris, Lord of Tattou, Lord of Abydos, that they may grant a good repose, and oxen, and geese, and bread, good store, and all good water of purification, and all enjoyment and happiness, to the disembodied spirit of Ra-Sekanen, Lord of Upper and Lower Egypt, proclaimed Righteous."

The coffin had once been plated all over thickly with gold; some of the plating still remains in front, and parts of the inscription are engraved on it. But the precious metal has been peeled off in ancient times, as is proved by the fact that the hieroglyphic inscription has been restored in black paint where the gold has been removed.

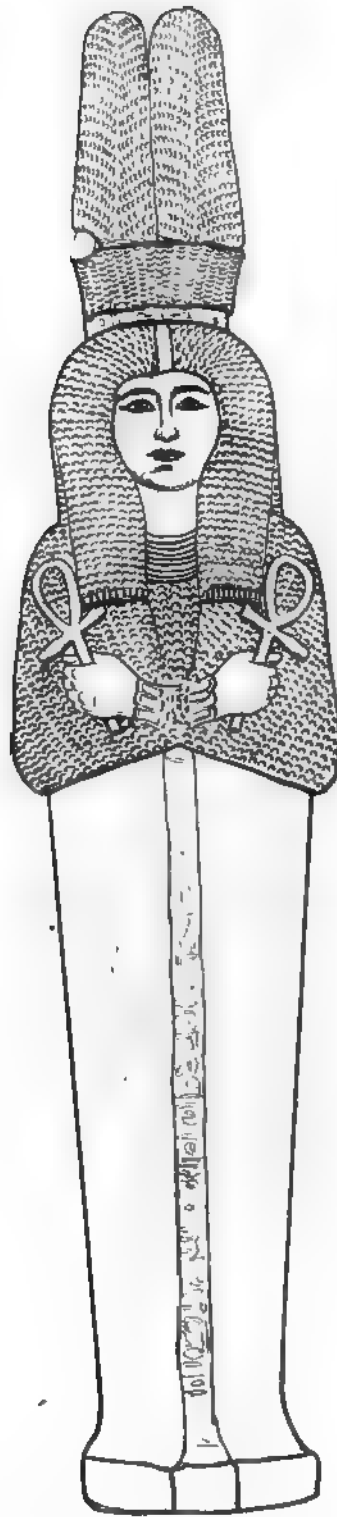
It is worth noting that Ra-Sekanen calls himself Lord of Upper and Lower Egypt, although at that time the latter was in the hands of the Hyksos, whose authority, however, he had refused to acknowledge. Baba Abana, in whose tomb the reference occurs to Joseph's famine (see "Nile Gleanings," page 237), was one of his officers, as was the son of that worthy, the sailor who lived in the time of the next King, Amosis, and assisted at the siege and capture of Auaris.

The date of Ra-Sekanen is fixed by that of Joseph; he would have flourished about 1725—1675 B.C., if we take the received chronology of the Bible as our guide. This king appears to have been the father of Queen Ah-mes-Nofretari, of whose mummy case I offer a sketch (Plate XXVI.), with its inscription on next page.

1886, the year of his death, which he was still living at the time of his death.

*He! the  
reference  
to a famine*

*There is a  
reference to  
the famine  
in the  
text of the  
mummy case  
of the queen  
Ah-mes-Nofretari  
which is the  
same as the  
one in the  
text of the  
mummy case  
of the king  
Ra-Sekanen*



LATE 26.

MUMMY CASE OF AHMES NOFRETARI  
BOULAK





This Queen was the consort of Amosis, founder of the eighteenth dynasty; she calls herself daughter of the King. Probably Ra-Sekanen was her father, and the right to the throne was in her. Amosis may have been a successful officer of her father's, whom she married, and who carried to a brilliant conclusion the liberation of Egypt from the foreign invaders who had so long occupied the Delta and the Fayoom, a work which her father began.

*Amosis*

*Here*

*Stated as  
fact.*

Plate XXVI. is the outer mummy case of the Royal lady in question; it is composed of folds of linen cemented together and forming a very tough millboard or papier maché. On her head are the ostrich feathers which signify that she has been proclaimed righteous before Osiris and is among the saints. The ostrich feathers are dented with markings to show the grain of the plumes. They are inserted in her coronet, her head and face are enveloped in a hood, terminating in fringes right and left; in her throat and breast may be observed a portion of her collar or necklace.

She holds the emblem of life in either hand, and she wears bracelets upon her wrists; her figure down to the waist is covered with a kind of scale work, beneath which her arms are enveloped, only the hands being free. Down the centre of the case is an inscription which is annexed.

The translation is as follows:—

“Supreme offering to Osiris, Lord of Abydos, that he may grant a good repose, 1000's of cakes and libations, 1000's of oxen and geese (and changes of raiment?), 1000's of burnt offerings, 1000's of . . . . and all waters of purification and divine life, and to be fanned by the North wind, to the disembodied spirit





## TRANSLATION.

“Address to Serk, eldest daughter of the Sun, who is in the abode of eternal life, that she may grant to be in Osiris to the Royal Mother, sovereign of the two lands, Notem-mit,—that she may conduct her to the divine throne, that her soul may issue forth to behold Aten.”

“Address of the Heavenly Osiris of the Abbess of the devotees of Amen Ra, King of the gods, even the Royal Mother, lady of the two lands, Notem-mit. She says, oh! Great Mother Nut, the Heavenly vault, may thy two protecting hands be spread over me, that they may grant me to be like Ra in. . . . .”

“Address to Neith the great one, the Divine Mother of Osiris, the ruler of the good abode, that she may grant to her spirit to go forth in Osiris, to the Royal Mother, queen of the two lands Notem-mit, out of the portals of the abode of . . . . . the region of Tuat (Amenti) Ptah Sokari in Rousta beaming in Tattou.”

Notemit was the consort of the usurper, Her Hor, who expelled the Ramesside family and established his own on the throne of Egypt. She was the great great grandmother of Is-em-Kheb.

We have now the mummies of the following Queens of the Her Hor Dynasty:—

Notemit, Tentamen, Hentaoui, Makara, Nsikhonsou, Is-em-Kheb—in fact all the five generations from that of the foundress to that of the heroine of the canopy.

The mummy case of Queen Makara, grandmother of Is-em-Kheb, was found to contain, besides the Queen, also her infant daughter, in giving birth to whom she died. Her baby was found placed against her own

cheek, and forms a touching incident among the facts of the Deir-el-Bahari discoveries, the record of a domestic sorrow and bereavement, which has come to light after 3000 years.

The mummies of both mother and daughter are in a most perfect state of preservation.

Among the eighteenth dynasty mummies recovered from their hiding place at Deir-el-Bahari, is that of Thothmes II. This King is figured in "Nile Gleanings," page 153. It will be observed that his shoulders are drawn preternaturally broad. I regarded this as a bit of careless drawing on the part of the ancient artist, but on opening his coffin it was found that owing to the abnormal breadth of his shoulders, the sides of the coffin had had to be cut away to enable his corpse to be fitted into it; the bas-relief therefore proves to have recorded a peculiarity characteristic of him in life.

I have already mentioned the mummy of Thothmes III.; annexed is a Plate XXV. showing its condition before it was unrolled. A pair of paddles three feet long will be observed fixed to his sides by the bandages; the purpose of these was probably for his use on the Sea of Happiness, in Paradise (vide Plate X., page 348, where the deceased is represented rowing a boat laden with good things on those blessed waters).

It is not so easy to suggest a purpose for the little brush of palm leaves found at his feet.

On the right side may be observed a hole large enough to introduce the hand; this was evidently made long ago by robbers, who had by this means extracted the scarab placed in the region of the heart in the case of all mummies; the cavity of the breast was found stuffed with muslin of extreme fineness.

Thothmes must have been very short of stature ; the mummy measures only five feet two inches ; this, allowing for shrinkage, would make him five feet six or seven when living, not quite the height of Napoleon I. ; but something must also be allowed for the fact that it was broken across into three pieces, which would reduce its length still more. I presume it is because the Museum authorities are ashamed of the defective stature of their hero, that they have not produced him. I have, however, made the best apology I can on his behalf.

Ha-te-Sou, the Queen Elizabeth of the eighteenth dynasty, must have also been amongst the occupants of the Deir-el-Bahari hiding place, for some of her funeral ornaments and treasures were found there ; one of them an ivory casket. No doubt her remains have been carried off by the Arabs ; and they have a practice of breaking up painted coffins and selling them piecemeal, while the body is thrown out and left to bleach upon the surface of the desert.

Of the seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth dynasties, the following kings and queens have been retrieved :—

Ra-Sekanen, the last monarch of the seventeenth dynasty.

Amosis, and his queen,	}	The first four kings of the eighteenth dynasty ;
Amunoph I., and his queen,		
Thothmes II.,		
Thothmes III.,		
Rameses I.,	}	Of the nineteenth dynasty ;
Sethi,		
Rameses II.,		

with traces of Ha-te-Sou, and of her father, Thothmes I.; for it was discovered that the coffin in which

Pinotem, grandfather of Is-em-Kheb, had been deposited, had once been that of Thothmes I., appropriated by some sacrilegious knave, varnished and painted over, and sold as new by the undertaker.

In Plate III., referred to at page 178, the name of the Royal Secretary who is presenting the King's letter to the governor of the Beni Hassan district, is inscribed in front of him; it is Nofre Hotep. The name of the Governor himself can be deciphered in the letter; it is Khnoum Hotep. There is mention also in it of the number of persons whom the Royal Commissioner has in charge, viz. 37.

The characters over the head of the man leading the gazelle signify "Chief of the country," and underneath is the very Jewish name Abishai. Among the characters which signify "Royal Secretary" is a scribe's writing apparatus, so minutely detailed as to show that it consisted of a palette with depressions to hold the pigment, and attached to it is a case containing his reed pen.

The name of the King which appears on the seal at the top left-hand corner of the epistle is Kheper Ka Ra, throne name of Ousertasen II. The coat worn by the stranger-chief illustrates Joseph's coat of many colours. It was originally tinted in a variety of gay hues on the walls of Beni Hassan, though now dulled by smoke and dirt. The shepherd's crook which the stranger carries in his hand wherewith to keep the antelope in order, illustrates the origin of the Egyptian emblem for chieftainship (Hak), which appears above. The chief is accompanied by a suite of men, women, and children; they all are thoroughly Jewish looking, especially the women; they drive before them donkeys, in the panniers of which are their household goods and their children.

It was once thought that they might have represented the arrival of Joseph's brethren in Egypt, but the date of Ousertasen (about 2500 B.C.) is much too early to admit of this being possible.

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In Plate XXXII. we have a set of four bronze vases, part of the funeral provision of Queen Is-em-Kheb; they are set in a kind of cruet-stand. Of the contents of the casket alongside I have already spoken (page 211). But it is worth noting that in the inscription Makara is called "The Divine wife of Amen," and so is her baby.

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Plate LXVI. is a rough sketch of wall-paintings in the tomb of Rameses VI. At first sight they appear to deserve the title of allegory run mad; they all, however, have reference to the adventures of Khnum Ra in the underworld. The panels left blank contain inscriptions which I had not time to copy. It appears from a Greek inscription that this tomb was visited by Plato. We know now that it had been opened, together with others, 500 years before his time, viz. by Pinotem.

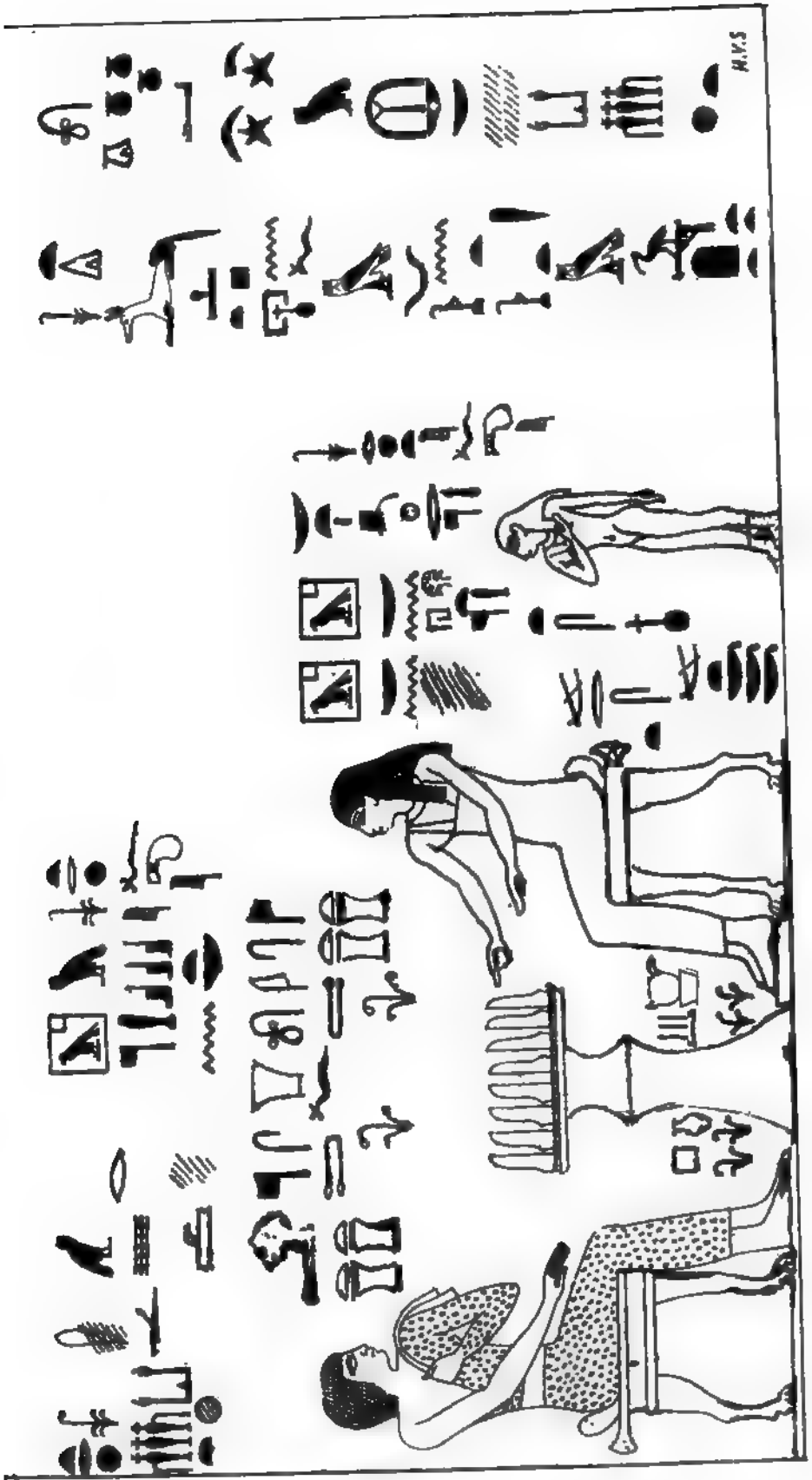
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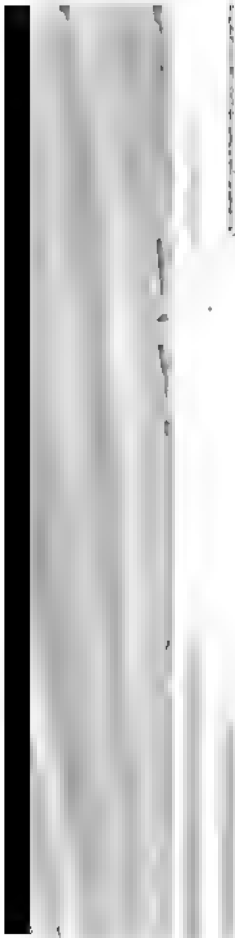
Plate XLIV. proves that the Egyptians understood the science of stall-feeding, and could turn out fat stock fit to compete in the great agricultural shows of the present day; the animals here depicted are models of symmetry and plumpness. It will be perceived, too, that they knew how to draw them. Similar bas-reliefs occur upon the monuments, from the fourth dynasty downwards.

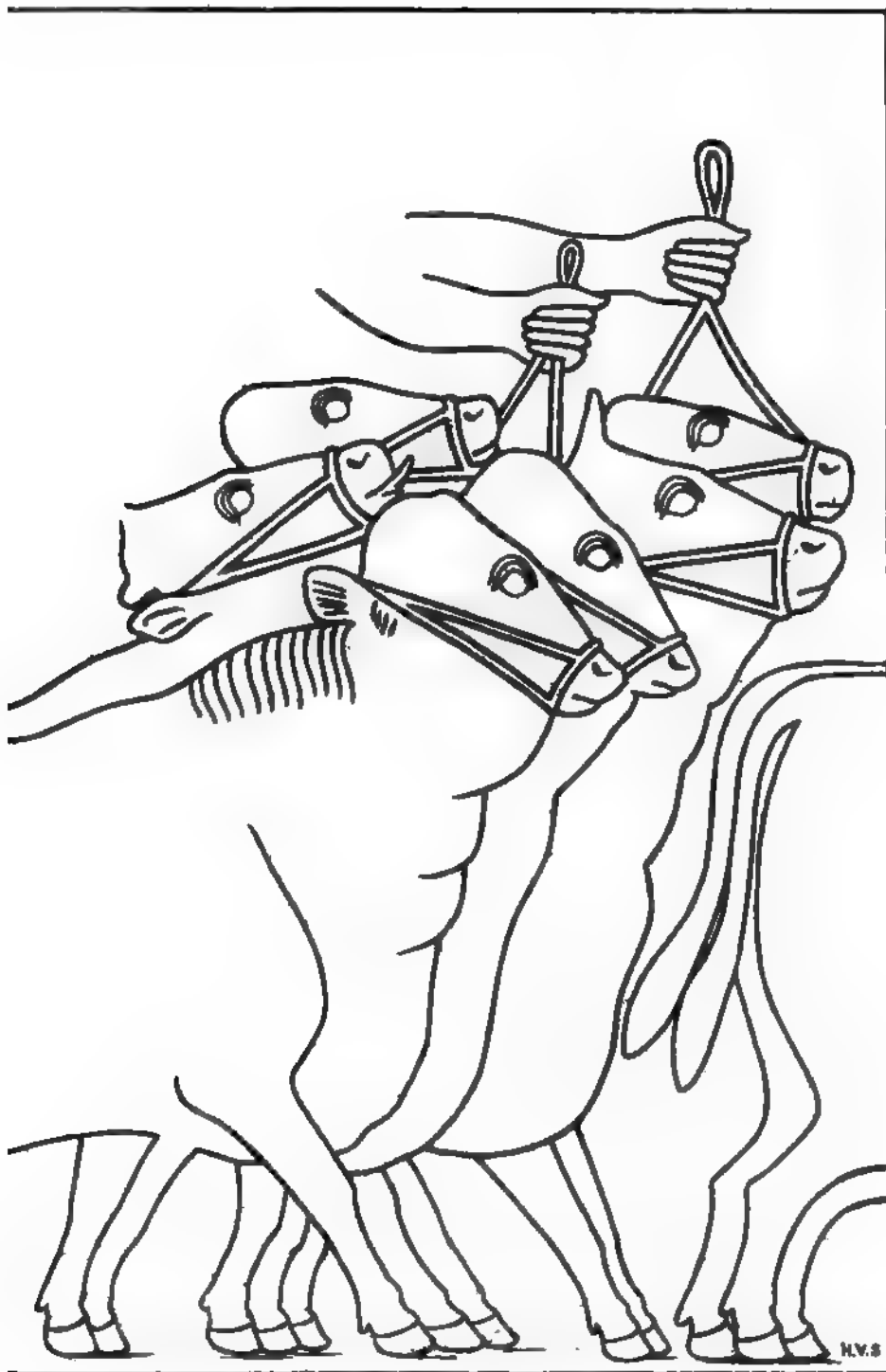
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Plate XLIII. represents Horus Ra, *i.e.* the Rising Sun god, as Plate XLVI. does that of the Sun god on his passage through the underworld after his setting.











## CHAPTER XL.

Gow-el-Gharbieh—Tombs of the Third Dynasty—Tomb of Ka-Khont-Khut.

ON January 30 the mail steamer arrived at Thebes and took us in tow. All went well with us, and we sped down stream at a rapid pace until dusk, when we underwent the oft-repeated experience of grounding on a sand-bank, where we remained all night. Next day another steamer arriving tugged off first the mail-boat and then the *Eva*; and we reached Gow-el-Kebir without further adventure, except an angry scene with the captain, who cast off here instead of continuing on to Gow-el-Gharbieh, our destination. His motive was to see some acquaintances, and to buy butter and other things on speculation to sell again in Cairo at double the price. Gow-el-Kebir is situated on the east bank on a great plain formed by a wide semicircular sweep made by the mountains at this point. About the centre of it a canal had been excavated for its irrigation, but so inefficiently that its floor was now high and dry several feet above the Nile level; were that canal deep enough, the plain, many square miles in extent, might be converted into a perfect garden of fertility.



Gow-el-Kebir (the Great) must not be confounded with Gow-el-Gharbieh a few miles lower down; the former is on the plain already referred to, the latter is at the foot of a mountain. It is the village which was once raised to the ground by Mohammed Ali, because an

English traveller had been killed there. Perhaps as a result of this lesson, the inhabitants are now particularly civil and friendly; in fact quite a cordial intimacy sprang up between us and a family who occupied a structure of straw mats close to our mooring place. There was an aged gipsy woman with curly iron-grey hair, the grandmother, full of vivacity, a most merry old lady, who invited my wife into the sacred recesses of their frail abode, the hareem. Of course, I being a male animal, was not admitted to this domestic shrine, but my better half was introduced to an exceedingly pretty young woman, her daughter, so that there *are* mothers-in-law, even here. The place was garnished, besides, with sundry little brown babies. There must have been a christening or at least a circumcision, for the Mamma was in holiday costume; she had on a blue dress prettily embroidered in silver. There was no furniture, but they spread a shawl on the ground for my wife to sit on. There were no refreshments in their larder, but, prompted by that hospitable instinct which characterises Orientals, they sent the eldest boy to burrow in the straw like a ferret in a rabbit-hole, and he emerged with two eggs, which were presented with much ceremony, together with a piece of cheese, while the elder lady explained by signs that she milked the Gamoos (buffalo) and made the cheese herself.

Later on there was a great beating of drums and merry-making—the whole village was *en fête*, and paraded the place in procession. On inquiry we found that it was in honour of two boys who had learned the Koran by hear—this is equivalent to taking their University degree—the whole community was proud of them. We set out for some very ancient tombs in the flank of the mountain

above. I had been there several times before, and knew my way perfectly well, but all the inhabitants, being in this state of effervescence, insisted on accompanying us, much to my annoyance, for I wished to have a quiet innings, and to make an exhaustive series of drawings and notes. The principal tomb is a tunnel, excavated through a spur of limestone rock. This tunnel is 40 feet long, about six feet high, and seven feet wide. There is an open court at each end, containing rudely executed and much dilapidated statues.

On the walls of the southern court there are some bas-reliefs and inscriptions. I have referred to these tombs already in "Nile Gleanings," page 331, and also in the "Funeral Tent." They are specially interesting, as being the only monuments of that remote period found so far south. They are in several respects unique, moreover no drawings of them have ever yet been published except the one I have given in my last work. I am anxious to preserve a record of them before they are blasted for limestone, a fate which is rapidly overtaking some of the most interesting relics of the early dynasties. I therefore this year made a more thorough exploration of the largest, copying and translating all the inscriptions and making notes of all the sculptures. No cartouche is to be found in any of them to fix the date, but I believe them to belong to the Senofreou period for the following reasons:—

The scarcity of determinatives: this is especially observable in the mention of sons and daughters,  and  being used without the goose. The repeated use of the lion's head and shoulders to represent first quality. The extent to which pictorial writing is used. The recurrence of names characteristic of the Senofreou

period, *e. g.*, one of the sons is called Nofreou, the last two syllables of the King's name, and one of the daughters Senofre,  $\Delta$ . This cutting up of the royal name for christening purposes prevailed among all the early dynasties down to the 18th. Another name characteristic of the period is given to one of the sons, *viz.*, Ra Hotep—after that prince—son of Senofreou, whose statue is at Boulak. (See Plate XXVIII., inscription No. 3, second column.)

The forms of pottery are similar; see Plate XLI. <sup>7/4</sup> Another significant circumstance is the total absence of conventionality in the plan of the different tombs; two forming long galleries, very low and very narrow—tunnels in the rock, in fact, with a row of statues on the right, and false doors and windows on the left, with sculptures above and between them, and with open courts outside the entrance, also containing statues. Others with square chambers at an angle to each other, also containing statues but without inscriptions. The placing of one tomb for the husband and another for the wife next each other, like those of Nofremat and Atet, and of Ra Hotep and Nofrete at Meidoum. (See "Nile Gleanings," Plates G and F, page 30.) The association, as at Meidoum, of sculptured tombs with unsculptured ones of a yet earlier period, before inscriptions had come into fashion—the oldest are totally without sculptures, although their round lintels and other details are very carefully executed. Then come tombs with sculpture but no inscriptions, and finally tombs with both. The use of the hieroglyphic  $\overline{\text{𓌗}}$  for God without qualification, as in the formula  $\overline{\text{𓌗}} \overline{\text{𓌗}} \overline{\text{𓌗}}$ , "Se nofre Kher Nuter," "working



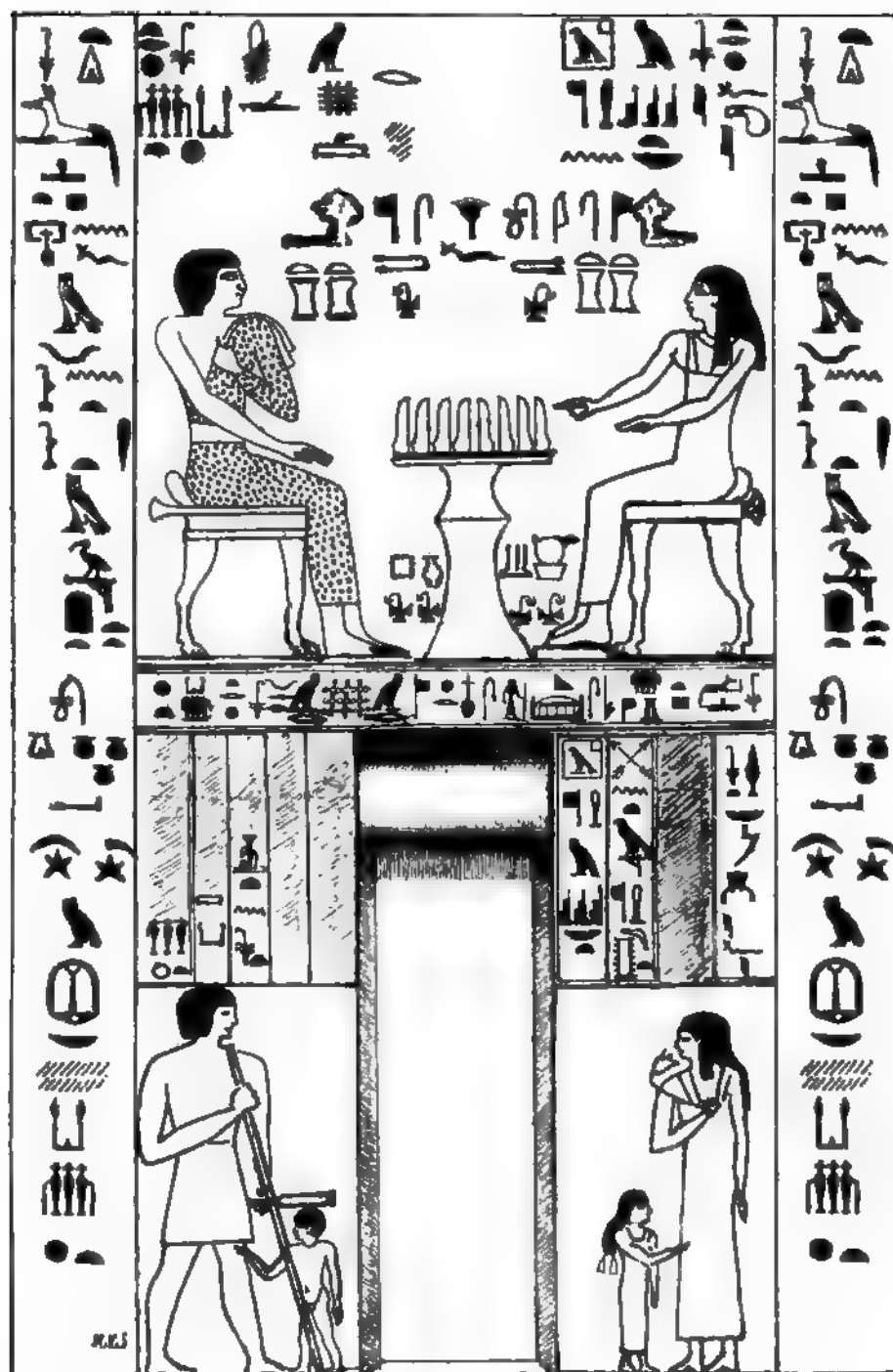


PLATE LXVII

MOCK WINDOW. TOMB OF KA KHOUT KHUT



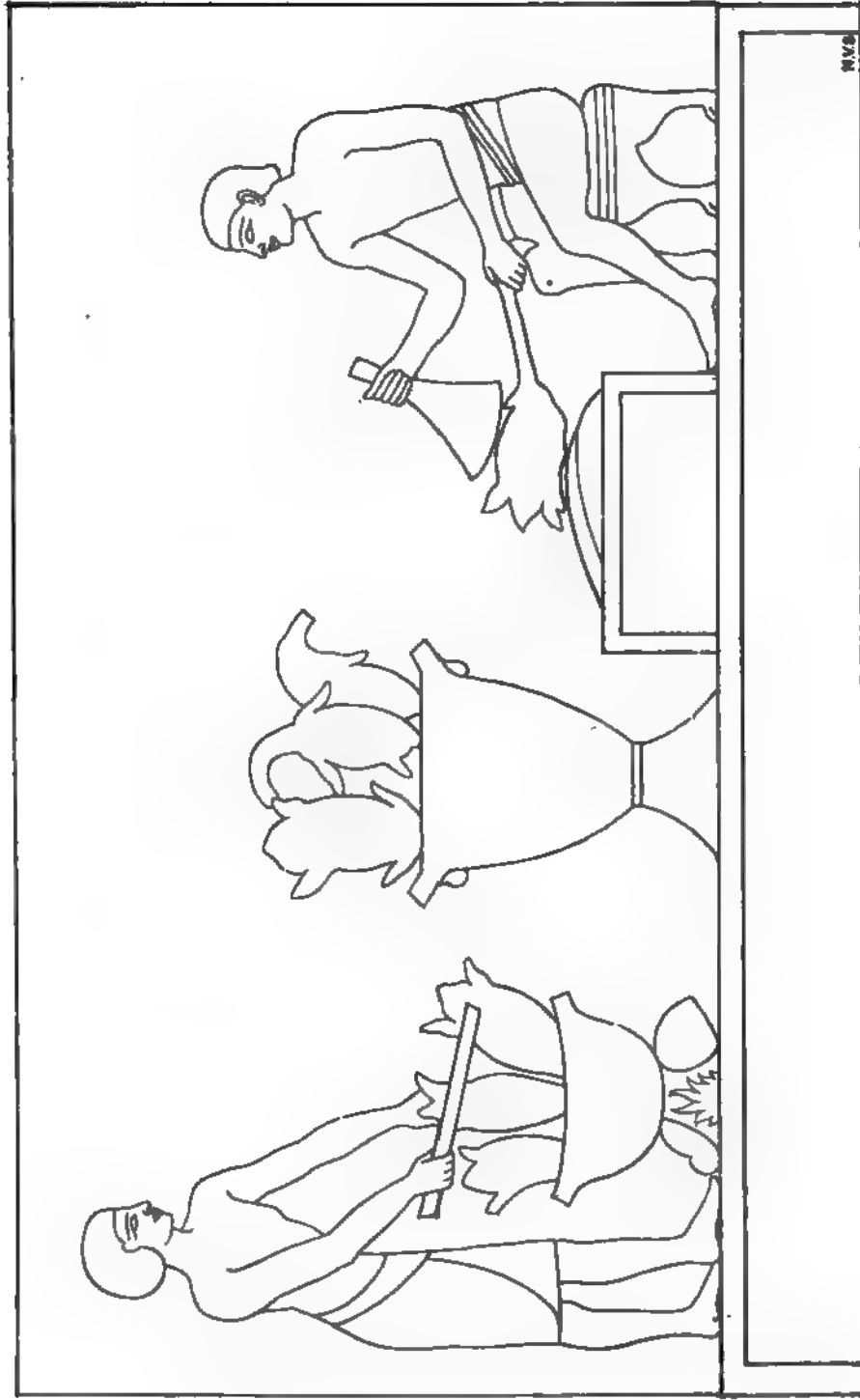


grave (or sarcophagus) of the man doing righteously before, or unto God. Royal Grandson, Ka-Khont-Khut Royal Granddaughter, Afoua, loving towards her husband, devoted to God."

In connection with this inscription, I may observe that the name of King Senofreou signifies "Doing righteous things."

At the north end is an open court excavated in the limestone. In this court is a life-size statue of the wife of Ka-Khont-Khut seated; it is semi-detached from the rock, the features entirely destroyed: there is no other sculpture or inscription on the exterior. The doorway is low, about 6 feet in height; on the right on entering is a bas-relief of the husband with his son; behind him is Afoua with her left hand on his left shoulder. Behind her stands a little daughter, as in Plate XIV., but it is not the same; her name is Tefa-te, with the title Sutenrecht. At a distance of 3 feet 6 inches from the entrance is a false window 12 inches wide and 4 feet high. Above it is the panel of the kitchen scene, Plate XXXVIII., the intervening space is occupied by the panels of the funeral larder, Plate LX., and of the man and dog, Plate XXXVII.; beneath these is a panel of slaves slaughtering cattle.

Nine feet from the false window is a false door three feet six inches wide, and four feet two inches high; above it is a panel of Ka-Khont-Khut seated at table opposite his wife, as in Plate XIV. In the centre of the door is a recess with round palm lintel one foot two inches wide. On the right of this is a bas-relief of Afoua smelling a lotus flower, accompanied by her little girl. On the opposite side is Ka-Khont-Khut leaning on a staff with one hand and hold-



MICHAELMAS DAY 4000 YEARS AGO.

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

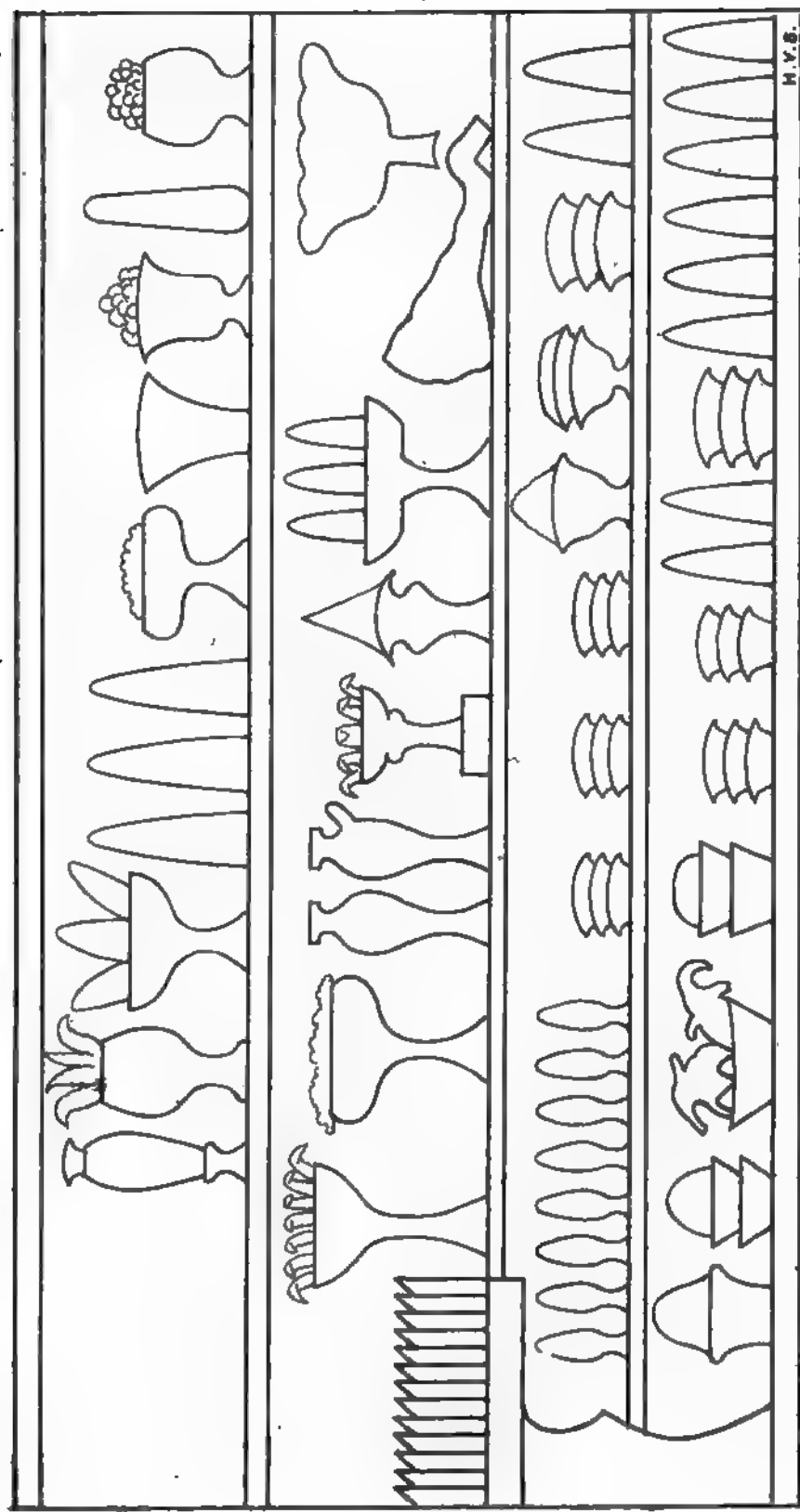
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FUNERAL LARDER. BASRELIEF  
TOMB OF KA KHONT KHUT

PLATE 60.





ing a baton with the other. He is accompanied by his son, who is looking towards him, with his hand resting on his father's thigh. Above the lady is an inscription, stating that she is priestess of Hathor and of Horus; (Plate LXVII., inscription No. 2); that she is the king's favourite,  and attached to her lord. Over the man's head is a much obliterated inscription, from which it appears, however, that he was chief of the King's architects. Above these inscriptions, between them and the upper panel, is a scroll, stating Ka-Khont-Khut to be governor of the district. Other titles nearly obliterated. I have restored them in Plate LXVII. Next come four panels, each four feet four inches long, by sixteen inches deep. The uppermost contains a bas-relief of a man with a load on his head, leading a cow; this group is preceded by another cow, but the artist had miscalculated his space, and had to place the herd who is leading her, on a reduced scale, standing on the back of a third cow; beneath this last is a false window, with round lintel; the second panel below contains a cow, preceded by three women, with baskets on their heads, similar to those in "Nile Gleanings," Plate IV., page 62; but much more rudely executed.

In the third panel is a cow with halter hanging loose, preceded by a cow led by a slave. To the south of the tablets just described is the false window with cow over it, width of window twelve inches; above all, just under the roof, an inscription dedicating the cows as a funeral offering at the shrine of Ka-Khont-Khut, royal grandson, and of Afoua.

Beyond, to the south, comes a panel eight feet six inches long, divided into three tablets; in the uppermost

is a cow preceded by three slaves with short sticks in their hands, led by a fourth who is offering a cup to his master, who stands beyond, leaning on a long staff subtending both the panels; over head, running above the panels, is an inscription, "Ka-Khont-Khut inspects his live stock and provisions (eatables)." (See Plate XXVIII., inscription No. 5.) Tablet 2 below represents four slaves carrying calves in their arms, two slaves carrying wild fowl, and an attendant leading an ox; the last has no name over his head, the next has the name Akem, the next Kepou (partly obliterated); the next is evidently of superior rank, and is styled secretary Ank-en-Khut.

*hunt*  
The lowest tablet contains two boats, one with a peculiar figure-head and a double mast, which has been lowered and lies flat on the deck above the cabin; seven sailors are rowing, three are steering. (Plate XXVIII., No. 8.) Ka-Khont-Khut stands in front of cabin, whip in hand; one man in the bow is punting with a pole. Over the head of Ka-Khont-Khut are engraved his name and titles, one of which is Mur ap Ser. This boat is followed by a second conveying his wife Afoua, who is seated before a curious cabin with a mitre-shaped top (Plate ~~LXXVII~~, No. 7); over her head is her name, with the title "Royal favourite." On the other side of the cabin and facing her is her maid, carrying a bundle under her right arm. Over her head are her titles, "Mur te honou," "Mur pir," "Chief over the servants," "Superintendent of the house, beloved." (Plate XXVIII., No. 4.) Climbing along the bow of the boat is a pet monkey. In the sketch only two sailors intervene between the housekeeper and the monkey; there were five in the original, but want of space compelled me to

shorten the boat. There were also two steersmen on the platform in the stern; the latter use leaf-shaped paddles.

Next, to the south, comes a false door, four feet four inches wide, surmounted by Ka-Khont-Khut and his wife, seated at table, as in Plate XIV. Behind the lady / 115 a young man in a separate panel; he holds a bâton of authority in one hand, and leans on a long staff with the other. Over his head is his name and title, "Kab, Scribe of the Sacred House." Underneath this group is a narrow scroll, with names and titles of man and wife inscribed. In the centre below this is a recess containing a statue, a round lintel overhead. Right and left of this are panels; the first represents Afoua standing with her hand on her heart, accompanied by her little girl turned towards her, with one hand resting on her mamma's thigh.

Above her is the inscription "Beloved daughter, Senofre."

Over the group are five columns of inscription, containing the name and titles of Afoua as in Plate XIV. "Afoua, priestess of Hathor, supreme in Ham, attached to the service of the Great God, royal favourite, devoted to her lord, granddaughter of the King."

In the tablet opposite is her husband leaning on his staff, and bâton in hand. An attendant is presenting to him a vessel with a spout. His office is given as "Hon Mur Tefa" — "Servant presiding over the provision department." To the right and left of the entire of the false door, with its four panels as just described, is a narrow border of inscription in duplicate, as in Plate XIV., running vertically from ceiling to floor. Three feet more brings us to the south entrance. A panel

once occupied this space, but it has been scientifically cut out and removed.

The south court is open, excavated in the limestone, shaped exactly like a racket court. In one of the sides is a recess with a statue upright. Above it is a stele with man and wife at table, as so often repeated. Opposite is a boat backed by water-reeds, a truthfully executed pelican, and a bird with a crest—I think an egret. Right and left of the statue are five figures carrying baskets on their heads. The name of a town is mentioned, as annexed.



On entering the tomb from the south there occurs on the right hand the frieze of hieroglyphics already mentioned containing the names and titles of man and wife, and stating that the latter was loving towards her lord, and devoted to God ; it goes on to dedicate the tomb to Anubis, and to state that Ka-Khont-Khut was *se nofre kher nuter*, "doing righteously before God." Beyond this the inscribed cornice has been cut away to make recesses for the statues of their children, and for four sculptured panels. Under a cornice, in a recess two feet from the entrance, stand a pair of statues of man and wife ; the recess is three feet wide, beyond occurs another recess with duplicates of the statues. Next them is a false window with round lintel, then next it the statue of a little girl, seated ; her head is gone, but the breasts remain ; there is above an inscription, Royal grand-daughter, Kha-tet, followed by the hieroglyph for a child.

Then a great recess 10 feet long and 6 feet high, supported by three lotus-flower pilasters ; between the first and second of these are two panels. In the upper one are five figures with baskets on their heads ; in the

lower one a boat and water-fowl. In the centre of the boat is Afoua seated; the other figures are her sons. Standing in the bow, preparing to hurl his boomerang at the wildfowl, is one named Kerset, secretary. Next, kneeling, Kem Hessel, secretary. He appears again in Plate XXXVII., Man and dog. Next, Afoua herself. Next, kneeling, Ra Hotep, secretary. Next, Nofrou, secretary; he is standing and steering. The two last are third dynasty names. This domestic group of the sons rowing their mother is an interesting memento of a family pleasure party of very remote date.

The great panel which follows has been cut away. Beyond this is a statue of a man erect, then a pilaster, then a recess two feet four inches wide; then, two feet further, a seated statue; then a blank recess five feet wide. The sculptures have been cut away. Then statues of man and wife; then, three feet further, a pilaster, and finally, a blank recess two feet wide. These recesses stop short of the ceiling. This brings us back to the north entrance. We have now completed the tour of the tomb.

Next above it is another very similar tomb devoted to Afoua alone. Below are others with rude bas-reliefs of men and women without inscriptions, and others without either bas-reliefs or inscriptions.

In the case of the boat figured in Plate XXVIII., No. 8, the prow is carved into the form of a beast's head, though what animal may be intended, remains a problem. There is a boat with a similar figure-head in the tomb of Sa Nofre, near the Great Pyramid. These craft were probably dug out of the solid timber; such canoes, adorned with carved prows, are still employed by the South Sea Islanders.

The ancient Egyptians must have possessed boats of large size, judging from the number of rowers, and from the fact that three steersmen were required. The latter use leaf-shaped oars, larger, and differing in form from those used by the rowers.

The structure of the double mast is clearly shown. It is braced with cross pieces serving as a ladder, and made to lower when the wind was contrary. I have also seen them treble, forming a tripod. The man in the bow is either punting or sounding for shoals.

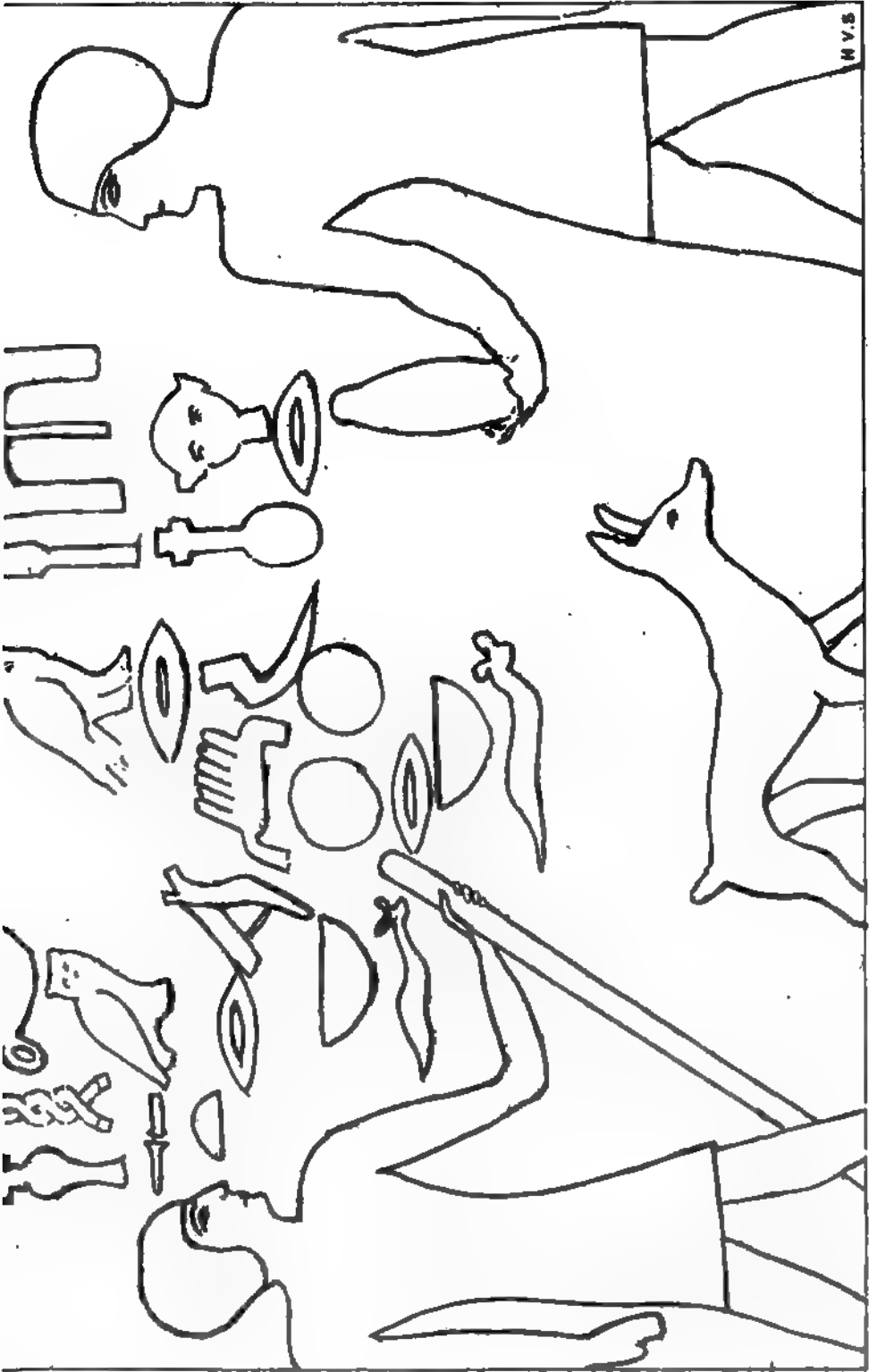
Ka-Khont-Khut stands in front of his cabin, armed with a courbash to encourage the crew—a very ancient stimulant in the valley of the Nile.

This worthy must have possessed a whole fleet of boats; no less than six figure on the interior and exterior of his funeral chapel: the latter is the title he gives to it himself—"The sacred chapel attached to his grave" (see Plate XXVIII., No. 1), in which may be observed the figure of a chapel, followed by the hieroglyph for "sacred," and that again by a javelin with a double barb, signifying "attached to or affixed to." The history of the selection of this hieroglyph is obvious.

It must not be supposed that the sculptures and inscriptions are all in black and white, and easy to discern. The interior walls are of a uniform sooty-blackness. There is but scanty light, and the subjects can only be made out by patient scrutiny and study.

Plate XXXVII. gives an accurate idea of the rudeness of style of the entire tomb. It is photo-lithographed from a cast, and is therefore a fac-simile.

The owner of the dog is named Hes-set-Kem. He appears again in the bow of the boat, slaying wild-fowl. His monogram is the last of the row of four, in Plate







XXVIII., No. 3, which may be compared with Plate XXXVII.; the same characters appear in less tidy shape at the top left-hand corner.

The dog is executed with spirit, and true to life. Docked tails were, it seems, in vogue at that period.

The chef is a burly fellow, as cooks should be,—an advertisement of the good effects of his art. His name is Her Nofre, and his rank is literally "Ruler of the roast," the first limb of the title being represented by a commander's bâton. He is also stated to be "Mer er Neb ef,"—loving towards his master.

Ka-Khont-Khut was evidently fond of his dog, and fond of his dinner, like squires of later times. Aquatics and fowling with sling and boomerang were also amongst the pursuits of the family (see Plate XXVIII., Nos. 6, 7, and 8).

Next the kitchen and the man cook is the tablet of the larder, Plate LX. The forms of pottery are interesting, and not without elegance. There is also considerable variety of design. Some of the dishes contain fruit, some salad; one vessel on a lower shelf is the receptacle for a couple of geese. There is in addition a haunch, let us hope of antelope venison. The cones are loaves of bread. Behind the table sits the squire—same as in Plate XIV. He is contemplating his crockery with much satisfaction.

Plate LXVII. represents one of the false windows. The main tableau over it, viz., the Chief and his lady at table, is reproduced again and again both within and without the tomb. The columns of hieroglyphics which form borders right and left, are transferred from the neighbouring false door or recess, where they occupy exactly the corresponding position. I therefore con-

sidered myself justified in transferring them. They read as follows.

"Supreme funeral offering to Anubis in his tomb in the beginning of the year—at the end of the year—in the feast of Thoth—at the weiling up of the inundation of the Nile ?) in every festival of the month and of the half-month; presented by Ka Khont en Khut." This sentence is a good illustration of the very different order in which the old Egyptians arranged their ideas from ours. The name of the subject comes last, the verb stating the fact of the presentation comes in the middle, the object which he presents occurs at the very commencement; then follows the place, viz., in his tomb; and then the times, viz., at the festivals enumerated. On the right, over the head of the male figure, is written, "The Chief of the district of . . . . Ka-Khont-Khut."

The sign for "district" is in very archaic form—twisted loops of rope laid across each other.

Over the head of the lady, "Priestess of Hathor, Chief (deity) in Issou, grand-daughter of a king, Af-ou-a," the last character but one, a bag or purse tied round the neck, is very archaic; it occurs in the third-dynasty tombs at Meidoum, but not elsewhere, so far as I know. Its phonetic value is uncertain. I have given the sound which the context of the name seems to indicate.

The inscription between the two personages belongs partly to the one and partly to the other, and recites certain special funeral provisions: on the right the lady is to have 1000 measures of first quality *green* pigment (to fringe her eyes with), on the left the gentleman is to have 1000 measures of *best* pigment (lion brand).

The character for 1000 is the Maltese cross sur-

mounted by stem tipped with crescent, a most archaic form of this numeral ; it reappears under the table at the feet of the pair, repeated twice in duplicate for 2000 of the articles there figured.

A papyrus flower may be observed in the centre of the double inscription. I conjecture this to be an ornament dividing the two inscriptions.

In the two panels beneath, the left-hand inscription is much mutilated. The only title that has survived, is, " Superintendent over the King's architects."

Afoua's inscription has escaped better, only one column being obliterated, the rest perfect. It reads : " Priestess of Hathor in Issou supreme, of Neith ? of Horus priestess . . . . . The King's favourite, to her lord (*i.e.* to her husband) attached. Afoua."

Observe the palm-trunk lintel of the door, and the old-fashioned little girl caressing her mamma. The latter is sniffing at a flower.

In Plate XXVIII., inscription No. 3, the title repeated for each of the sons, means literally " secretary." As a matter of fact it corresponded to the modern Arabic title of *Effendi*, or to our English *Esquire*. In several of the panels, the sons here named appear, with the same titles and names, as children at their father's feet, holding his legs or playing with his stick.

The style of the tomb proclaims extreme antiquity—the dug-out canoes, the thick clumsy table and chairs, the low roof, the palm trunks which form the ceiling, not barely indicated as at the Pyramids, but conscientiously executed in complete bas-relief. They were extremely primitive times evidently, when men were contented with dwellings of very modest dimensions

and materials, and this ancient chief's house evidently the original of his tomb.

It is evident from the dedication that they did regard these structures as tombs, but as *Chapels*. as already stated, Ka-Khont-Khut calls it "The sa chapel attached to his grave or tomb," the latter b the mummy pit, which in this instance and in othe the same group was outside the chapel.

## CHAPTER XLI.

Siout—A Recruiting Scene—The New Gendarmerie—Flogging Women—Two Merchants of Siout—Mohammet-el-Koofoor—Churlish Townsmen—Attack upon us by the Natives—Reinforcements—The Defeat of the Enemy—The Precipices of Gebel-Abou-Faïda—Tomb of the Son of Nofre-ka-ra, of the Sixth Dynasty—Tomb of an Officer of that Period.

WE reached Siout ; here we found a considerable stir and excitement on account of the drilling and parade of a portion of the new Gendarmerie, which was added to by the presence of a recruiting party for the Soudan. I have already described the scenes that take place on these occasions. The clamorous grief of the women who were running to and fro with their heads and faces plastered with mud was very distressing, but I was specially shocked to see some of the Mudir's cawasses beating the poor creatures right and left with stout sticks, and this a few minutes after a high English official had passed. I felt so indignant at the dastardly, unmanly cruelty of these Turkish minions, that I rode up to the ringleader and asked him what he meant by treating poor defenceless women in that way. He replied that it was the Mudir's order. "We will soon see how that is," said I. "I have in my pocket a letter to the Mudir ; so come along with me, and I shall ask him in your presence whether he gave you such orders." Upon this the wretch turned as pale as a ghost, and stammered that he had made a mistake in saying that the Mudir had given them. A crowd meanwhile collected

round us, who were highly delighted at the discomfiture of this petty tyrant, and no more woman-beating took place while I was in town.

While old men were being enrolled to be slaughtered by the Mahdi, and women beaten for manifesting their grief too touchingly, the town was in possession of the Gendarmerie, organised under English auspices, commanded by English officers, and about to be paraded before the English chief already alluded to. But he had doubtless been instructed not to concern himself with the recruiting for the Soudan, therefore he played the Levite, and passed by on the other side. I hope and trust that if our credit with the natives is to be saved, there may be no more of these fine-drawn distinctions.

While at Siout I delivered a letter of introduction with which I had been furnished, to the Messrs. K——, native merchants residing in the town. They occupied a large house, with a court-yard and garden in the centre. The reception rooms were on the first floor, approached by a broad flight of stone steps, with handsome carved balustrades. The principal saloon had the bare, naked look usual in the East, owing to the absence of furniture, except the divans which lined the walls. The latter were adorned with mirrors.

My hosts conversed fluently in English. They dwelt much on the importance of education, and remarked that the ignorance of the natives was partly due to their teaching being almost entirely restricted to the Koran, which not only had a narrowing effect upon their minds, but also fostered a dangerous spirit of fanaticism. Their business relations had taken them to every part of Egypt, and they had an intimate knowledge of Cairo and the Delta. I therefore took the opportunity of

questioning them upon all the principal subjects of my inquiries. They added their confirmation to the general truth of the statements that had been made to me on the village-debt question, cotton culture, irrigation, the administration of justice, and on political feeling. With regard to the character of the Arabi intrigue, they remarked that if it had deserved the title of a National movement, the people would have flocked to his standard voluntarily, instead of having to be dragged to his camp in chains. This remark bore out what I had heard in other quarters—that while Arabi's recruiting was going on, the villagers throughout Upper Egypt forsook their farms by hundreds, and fled to the desert and the mountains: that their women were imprisoned to compel them to disclose where the able-bodied men of their families were hidden. Those who were captured were brought in gangs, fettered and chained together, to prevent their desertion; an ominous spectacle for a popular leader! This is not the way people behave whose spirit is thoroughly aroused, and whose heart is in the movement. The truth of the axiom "Who would be free, themselves must strike the blow," had evidently not penetrated their minds nor inspired their conduct. What root the revolt took in Upper Egypt was entirely due to appeals to fanaticism.

Early next morning we left Siout, and proceeded on our way down the river; but our career was arrested by a perfect tempest of wind, which blowing across our course, drove the *Eva* against the western bank, where she remained hopelessly pasted. As further progress for that day was out of the question, I took the opportunity of visiting a place called Mohammed-el-Koofoor, with the

intention of exploring some sixth-dynasty tombs which occur high up amongst the cliffs of Gebel-Abou-Faïda. This district has a bad character, as I was aware from previous experience. On landing I called upon the village Sheikh and asked him to procure me donkeys and a guard. Both he and the villagers were decidedly sulky; however he sent for donkeys, and, meanwhile, he invited me to sit beside him, but I noticed that he did not proffer the usual civility of a cigarette. The old man was stone blind, and we were therefore denied intercourse by the impressive language of the eyes. Hoping to break the ice, I touched his arm and pushed my cigar case into his hand; but he declined, saying, "Here we give, but do not accept." Nevertheless he seemed mollified, and sent for coffee, and we got on better afterwards. Ultimately ten guards armed with spears made their appearance, bringing a couple of donkeys, without saddies. As we had many miles to ride, this was not encouraging; however we started, but, when we had got about a mile and a half beyond the town, a peasant came forward, accompanied by about a score of half-naked, fierce-looking fellows, and said that the donkeys were his, and that we should not have them. I offered to pay a dollar apiece for them, *i. e.*, four times the usual hire, but this offer made matters rather worse. The fellow refused any terms, the whole party became exceedingly noisy and abusive, and things began to assume a menacing aspect. I dismounted, and told the ringleader to take his beast; I would walk. However the guard would not hear of this, they lowered their spears, and charged. The mob did not give way; they stood their ground, and tried to wrest the spears out of their hands. I had my Winchester



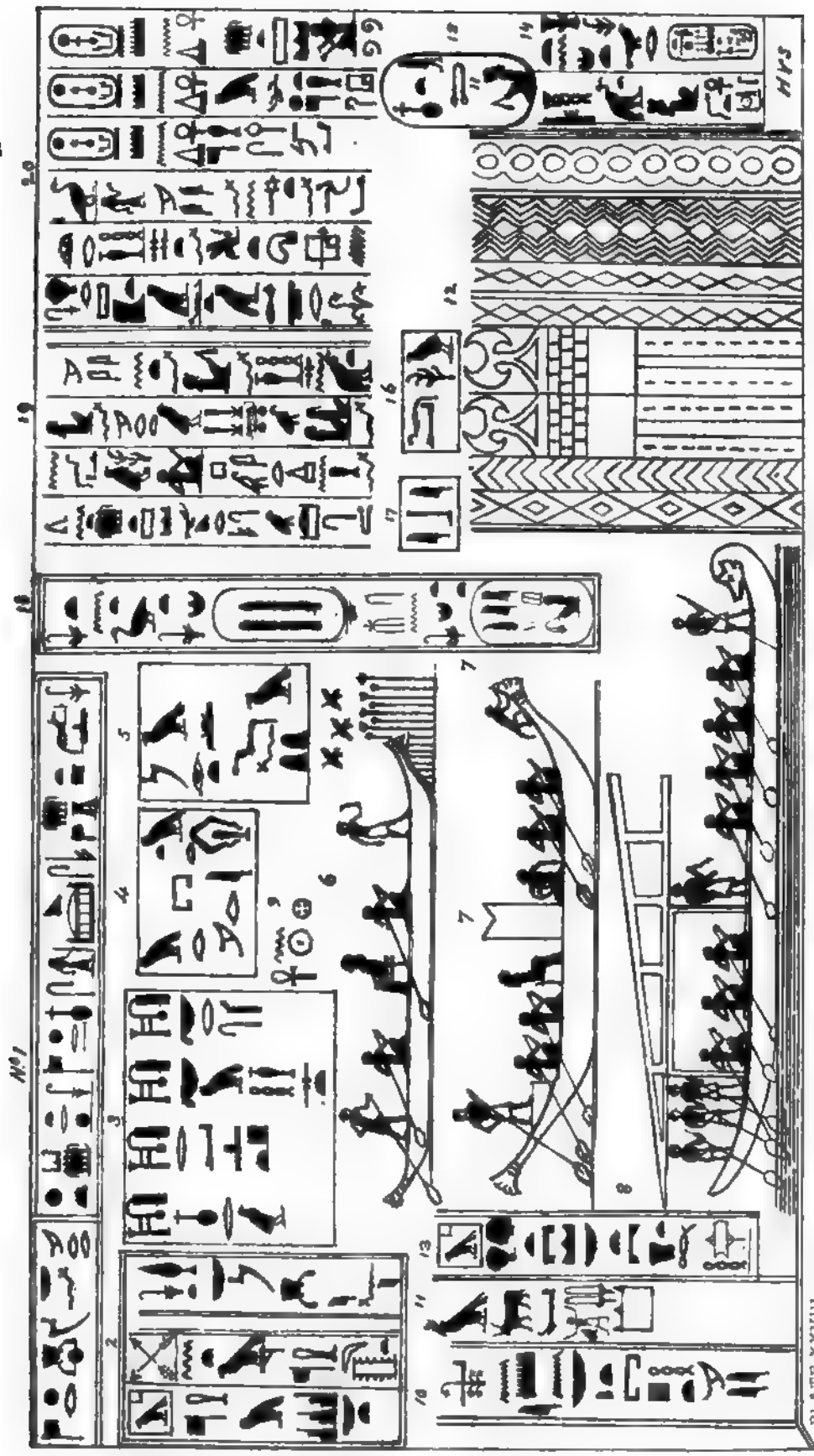


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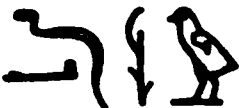


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repeater with me, and formed the reserve. Fortunately at this crisis, half-a-dozen more spearmen made their appearance, and two men with long matchlocks. They came on at a run, and turned the fortune of the fight. The enemy retreated, pouring forth volleys of abuse and threats. We then proceeded for another mile, when we were again attacked, and a similar scene took place. The guards would not allow the donkeys to be given up; they said they had their orders from the Sheik, and they would take them with them whether we rode or not. After this we met with no further molestation. We crossed a level plain, a perfect sea of beans, and, ultimately, after a very hot ride of two hours, came to a monastery situated at the foot of the mountain, and at the edge of the cultivated land, *i.e.*, the extreme limit to which the inundation reaches; beyond that all is desert. They told me that they only get one crop a year, *viz.*, that irrigated for them by the inundation; when that is reaped, the land remains idle for the rest of the season. I learned that the cause of the hostility we had experienced was that last year a party of foreigners took eight donkeys, and after using them all day paid nothing for them. This neighbourhood is rarely visited by travellers. None had been here since, and the bad impression remained. I have described the monastery in "Nile Gleanings," page 336.

We now had a fatiguing climb up the precipitous flanks of Gebel-Abou-Faïda. The cliffs faced due south, and the sun beat upon them with scorching effect; and to make matters worse the dragoman had forgotten to bring any water. I had some cognac in my flask, but that is not an eligible beverage in its undiluted state. We had not even an orange to mitigate our sufferings,

or help us through the long hours of parching heat store for us. We reached a broad ledge, which formed the terrace upon which this colony of tombs is situated. A magnificent panorama spread itself out below. This was the great plain we had just crossed—a sea of emerald green; beyond that the silver streak of the Nile, on the far side of which spread another plain, fertile, fringed by the Lybian hills, with an illimitable distance of desert blending with the haze of the horizon.

The two principal tombs belonged, the one to a military officer of the name of  Aba, and the other to a personage whose monogram was  Ta (Khetou. (See Plate XXVIII., Nos. 17 and 18.)

The hieroglyph which I have translated Khet is a rare occurrence, and its phonetic value uncertain. I have only met with it once, viz., in the pyramid of Ounas, of the fifth dynasty.

I had visited these tombs before. They were supposed to belong to the sixth dynasty, but the style much resembled the twelfth, that I wished to make a more thorough examination of them, and endeavoured to find evidence which might set the question at rest. In this I succeeded; for, as I shall presently show, Ta Khetou was a son of Nofrekara, the thirty-eighth king on the tablet of Abydos, and was entrusted with the task of furnishing a sarcophagus for his father's pyramid, "Men Ank." Either of these two facts is conclusive as to the epoch to which they belong.

The walls of this tomb are covered with a very smooth plaster, upon which all the inscriptions and figures are painted; the figures in pale blue and apple-green on a maize ground, indicating a thorough knowledge of the

laws of colour contrast. Amongst the animals represented is a rhinoceros, the only example I have met with on the monuments. There were also elands, and other large antelopes. The men were represented with eyes of exaggerated size, a peculiarity which I have observed in other tombs of the sixth dynasty. (See "Nile Gleanings," pages 306 and 308.) There were also mosaics of green stone set in cement. The most interesting painting was a fleet of boats, each of different fashion. On one of these is a canopy spread over a cream-coloured panelled stone, which Ta Khetou is bringing for the King from the south. One boat is under full sail. Another has a treble mast. On the wall near the entrance is a tableau of Ta Khetou slaying wild fowl with a sling. On another he is seated at a table, supporting boxes containing the collars of honour with which the King has endowed him for distinguished services. On the wall opposite the entrance he is enthroned beneath a sumptuous canopy, and close by is a tunnel descending at an acute angle to his funeral vault.

The plaster has been much destroyed since I was last here, and several subjects have disappeared; most of the inscriptions have been recently mutilated. Amongst his titles are those of Chief Royal Treasurer (bursar), Priest of the pyramid Men Ank of Nofrekara, Steward of the King's property, Chief Priest, Superintendent of Festivals, devoted to the chief God, Lord of Heaven, devoted to Ma. There is also a dedication to Osiris, Lord of Heaven.

In Plate XXVIII., No. 6, will be found the most important inscription. Beginning at the last column to the right it may be translated: "Commandant of the

people of the Khonte Reservoirs or (docks ?) belonging to Nofrekara of the pyramid of life. Steward of the property, priest, Governor of the temple of the pyramid of life of Nofrekara. Priest glorifying truly the pyramid of life of Nofrekara, *his son* loving him, of his very body begotten, in very truth, executing his pleasure. Royal bursar of the palace . . . . . Chief of the council, Governor of the great quarry of the South." The inscription continues with more titles, and mentions that he is entrusted with providing of first quality everything appertaining to the pyramid of his Majesty, including the sarcophagus. Another inscription says he is beloved of his father, the delight of his mother, loving his brothers and sisters, even Ta Khetou. It goes on to state that he is over the pyramid of his Majesty going to the region of the reservoirs. This last expression is obscure. It contains the determinative for reservoirs of water, together with another sign indicating a foreign locality beyond the limits of Egypt Proper, probably Nubia, where quarries for great granite blocks for the construction of the Pyramids were found.

We were compelled by the dangerous character of the district to cut short our investigations, and to start in good time, so as to get back to the river by daylight.

While on our way through the bean-planted plain before mentioned, a half-grown buffalo calf escaped from its owner, and took a short cut through the sea of verdure, plunging along at a clumsy gallop. An idea of the luxuriance of the crop may be obtained when I mention that the animal was entirely buried, his back only coming to the surface at intervals as he plunged along, like that of a porpoise coming up to blow.

When about a mile from Mohammet-el-Koofoor, we passed a girl sitting beside the path and crying; she was in charge of a donkey, which she held by a straw rope. We were moved by her distress, and asked what was the matter. Between her sobs she explained that the beast was so troublesome to drive that her heart was well-nigh broken. We asked her how she could hope to manage her husband, when she got one, if she could not manage her donkey. The guards were much amused, and applied to her rebellious *monture* the invariable remedy, for they belaboured it with a vigour which made its ribs resound again.

It would appear that the quadrupeds in this region share the unruly character of the bipeds.

It was dark when we got back to the waterside, and we paid off our guard by the light of a fire which our boat's crew had kindled on the river bank.

During my absence my wife had paid a visit to a number of peasants who were threshing out their corn. They were very friendly, and when dinner hour arrived, the women invited her to share their meal of bread and lentils. The bread used by the peasants is coarse but sweet and wholesome; it is made of a mixture of wheat and dourra. Some of the girls are decidedly pretty.

We did not get back to the *Eva* till long after dark.

## CHAPTER XLII.

**Manfaloot—Resuscitated Owls—Pirates of Gebel Abou-Faïda—Howarte—Mummies for Manure—The Mountain Plateau—A Hiding-place—Tombs of Khou-en-Aten's Courtiers—Some interesting Trophies of his Reign.**

NEXT morning we arrived at Manfaloot. Here we spent most of the day visiting the townspeople. Their evidence was simply a confirmation of that already detailed.

The Governor refused to guarantee our safety if we attempted to pass Gebel-Abou-Faïda after dark. He said that the mountains were infested by bands of men rendered desperate by want and hunger, and that we should certainly be attacked. This is another symptom of the destitution of which there is only too much in Upper Egypt.

His warning decided us not to start till next day. One of our visits was to a Coptic family, the pearl of which was a very pretty daughter; we bought from her a native lady's dress, blue embroidered in silver. The town is remarkably clean and neat. While strolling through a palm grove in the suburbs I shot a couple of curious little pigmy owls, not much larger than snipe.

On our return to the *Eva* I had a consultation with Talhami (our dragoman) as to the preparation of the skins, for he is expert at bird stuffing; and they were finally consigned to a locker in the cabin, apparently as dead as the mummy of Thothmes. We were awoken in the night by a most extraordinary noise. I had never



heard of a Dahabeeah being haunted by ghosts, otherwise I should have concluded that ours undoubtedly was ; directly beneath us as we lay, there arose a sound of incessant tapping, accompanied by a sound of little feet promenading about. We invoked the assistance of Bryant & May, and struck a light. Candle in hand we searched everywhere without finding any solution of the mystery. At last we opened the drawer in which the birds of Minerva had been deposited, and there, scarcely less miraculously than Lazarus, we found them marching about as well as ever. We concluded that decapitation was the only form of exorcism that would finally lay the ghost, and put the poor things out of pain ; and to that remedy we resorted. As we are on the subject of resuscitation, I may mention an incident narrated to me by Brugsch Bey.

While engaged in removing the mummies from the vault at Deir-el-Bahari, he had them laid in the sun side by side as they were brought out. At midday he sat down to lunch, and while thus occupied—his eyes still rivetted on his newly discovered treasures—he saw, to his amazement, the arm of one of them slowly rise until it was nearly erect. A thrill of horror ran through his veins : he could scarcely believe his eyes : he began to think that the ghost of the departed had returned to reproach him for disturbing his long repose. At last philosophy came to his aid, and suggested that the heat of the sun had acted upon the fibres of the arm, which after twenty-nine centuries of rest, had once more, and for the last time, performed their function of muscular contraction. I relate this strange incident as it was told to me.

Next day we were drifting with the current under the

precipices of Gebel Aboufaida, and reached Howarte at sunset; we stayed here several days, exploring the mountains in the neighbourhood.

The first morning on landing, we found half the able-bodied men in the village awaiting us on the bank armed with spears and matchlocks. They insisted on accompanying us, though we warned them that an escort of four would be sufficient along with our own crew, and that we could not pay them all; they told us of antiques, "Keteer," pointing to the range of precipices that frowned down upon the Nile to the south. Tempted by this information we yielded ourselves to their guidance, and for once found their information correct.

The first part of our route lay along the sand slopes on the base of the range, but we presently began to ascend, and had an arduous task to scale the limestone rocks.

While on my way I observed that a sandy plain which we were crossing was pitted all over with holes, and many bones and horns of cattle were lying about, as well as mummy-cloths. They told me that a Greek had come with a large barge, and had exhumed hundreds of mummy-cattle there, and had taken them to Cairo and Alexandria for bone-manure, and to burn for animal charcoal to clarify the sugar! But not content with taking the cattle he had ransacked the tombs and carried off numbers of mummies, the relics of Khou-en-Aten's subjects, and the villagers had sold the coffins for fuel. To what base uses may we come!

The views over the Nile valley were splendid, and formed a magnificent panorama, as we ascended.

Along the brow, at an elevation of about 700 feet above the river, I found in succession four large stelæ, of the reign of Khou-en-Aten. They had evidently contained his family genealogy amongst other things, but had been purposely defaced. I copied as much of the inscriptions as were legible, but they are too fragmentary to be of any value.

We made an expedition to the mountain plateau above. We ascended the dry bed of a torrent for several miles, through one of the wildest and most desolate ravines it is possible to imagine. We came upon what had once been waterfalls of considerable height. It was evident that previously there had been a large volume of water, and it must have been at work for ages, as was proved by the water-worn rocks. It was all as dry and arid now as a lunar valley. There are occasional rains here still, half a dozen times in the year perhaps, but not prolonged enough to produce such effects as these. There must formerly have been a very different climate, to the evidences for which I have several times had occasion to call attention. At noon the sun beat down upon us with pitiless fierceness, being reflected from the rocky sides of the ravine, until we felt as if we were in the focus of a burning-glass, and were being rapidly reduced to cinders. At last we came to a pinnacle of rock which pierced the sand floor, and on the north side of this there was a narrow border of shadow. We hailed this as a priceless treasure, and called a halt for our mid-day meal. But we found we had not undisputed possession; it had been occupied by a colony of bees—insect Bedouins, which buzzed around us incessantly. We tried to conciliate them with slices of orange, with

lumps of sugar, chicken bones, and bread crumbs, but they scorned all our overtures, and remained persistently hostile to the last. What brought them there, miles away from vegetation or any visible means of subsistence? But though *they* were proof against all our offers, other insects were not. Beetles great and small came forth from under stones, and feasted on the rejected dainties. Few things are more curious than the abundance of desert life, or more mysterious than what the creatures live on. We were reminded of the passage, "The Lord spreadeth for them a table in the wilderness." We emerged soon afterwards upon the summit of the plateau. It was like another world about 1000 feet above the Nile, out of sight of all vegetation or vestiges of human life, with a hard surface all flints, glittering crystals, a sky of sapphire overhead, a glare of light, and a glowing sun which one could not look at for a moment. We kept on for some miles, travelling due north. At last we came to a well-like hole in the ground, at which our guides stopped. The sides were worn smooth. It was the entrance to a cavern hung with stalactites.

The natives told us this was one of the hiding places for the peasants during the rebellion. They used to conceal themselves in these caverns to escape Arabi's conscription, and the women brought them provisions at night. They are extensive, and have many ramifications. Two of the men said there were antique statues in them, and offered to bring us one for a couple of francs. Experience had made us doubtful about Arab antiquities. However, we assented, to see what would come of it. Our emissaries were absent a long time, at last we heard sounds of rolling some heavy

body, echoing through the vaults long before they returned to view. Presently, their lights appeared in the distance, and they finally deposited a great glittering white broken stalactite at our feet—presented it with an air of pride, expecting us to go into hysterics of enthusiasm at the treasure. They were much cast down when we burst out laughing instead. Antique it was—no doubt as much so as the famous stone in “Pickwick;” but it had not even the monogram of Bill Stumps upon it. After a ride of many miles we arrived towards evening at a precipitous slope descending into a desolate valley. It was rough work scrambling down—we of course had to dismount. The donkeys jumped from rock to rock with the activity of chamois, having many a time, I warrant, carried provisions to the deserters. I omitted to mention that on our way across the plateau we saw thousands of flints which might have passed for trophies of the stone age. They had every appearance of having been artificially chipped into shape; but it could not have been so. The men picked out pockets full of them for their flint guns. They had been split to the right shape by Nature, as if made to order. On our way down we came upon a splendid stele of Khou-en-Aten, flanked right and left by seated statues of that king and his queen. They were enthroned, with their hands before them, and were decorated with collars and bracelets and armlets, consisting entirely of cartouches strung together. Their heads had unfortunately been broken off, and lay below much damaged, and not worth removing. I regretted that it was too late to sketch this monument. I think it must be the same that was discovered by Harris. I am under the impression, however, that no drawing of it has been published. The

inscription is much defaced. The Arabs told us of tombs, and our dragoman, Talhami, gallantly volunteered to go with one of them, and report whether they were worth visiting, if so we could go to-morrow. We reached the *Eva* after sunset.

Late at night Talhami arrived much exhausted, and announced that he had seen some very handsome ruins, temples with mummies in them; we therefore set out early next morning, but insisted on our escort substituting baskets and other implements for excavating instead of the spears and match-locks, and I offered a handsome reward if they could discover and open an unviolated tomb. We crossed the plain behind the villa and arrived after a ride of four or five miles at the foot of some mountains to the rear of Howarte. Here the natives set to work to excavate, and we explored the tombs already open. The principal one turned out to have belonged to the same Nuter-atef-Aai who afterwards became king; it had been constructed for him while he was a private individual. It is dedicated to him and his wife Tai, the same that appears as his companion in the fowling scene which I have already described in my account of the tomb of king Aai in the western valley at Bab-el-Melek.

The entrance to the vault at the back is handsome—doorway surmounted with the Aten disk, beneath which he and his wife are kneeling at an altar decorated with the cartouches of Khou-en-Aten. Later on after their accession to the throne they repudiated all connections with the heresies of that monarch, and became orthodox.

Towards evening our guides announced with great triumph that they had opened a new tomb. It was

many hundred yards from that of Aai. They had cleared away the sand and effected an entrance through a hole just sufficient to admit the body of a man. Through this I entered and found myself in a vaulted hall, at the extremity of which was a second chamber containing a colossal statue painted in bright colours. The face had been purposely destroyed, otherwise it was perfect, and looked quite new as if only just finished, as did the whole tomb. The walls had been covered with inscriptions painted on the flat : these had been carefully obliterated by a wash of pink distemper. On the floor were a number of vases of elegant form, but in too fragile and brittle condition to bear removal : all were broken except one, which we brought away.

While at Howarte I inspected the cultivation and questioned the villagers on the usual points. Their evidence was as follows :—

“ We have to pay tax on all palm-trees from 4 feet high, years before they bear.

“ We are furnished with tax-papers setting forth the numbers we have to pay on, but these papers are falsified.”

One villager said : “ I own eighteen trees, but I am charged for thirty, and when I complained to the Sheik, he sent me to the Mahmoud ; but he would have beaten me, and made me pay for thirty all the same. It was better to pay without being beaten.

“ Some of our villagers are in partnership to grow sugar-cane ; we join to work the shadoofs by shifts ; a good deal of home-made sugar is manufactured on the other side of the river by private persons.

“ We cannot water the cane enough by shadoofs, it is consequently dry and does not yield well. If we had

sakiyehs we could grow plenty, but how can we afford them? We are too poor.

"We have to pay salt tax on every member of our families."

I examined the tax-papers furnished to these villagers; they were not filled up—a lump sum being mentioned, but no details, so that there was ample room for unjust exaction.

Various villagers told me that frequently they were not given receipts for their taxes, so that they could not prove how much they had paid, and that on asking for a receipt they were beaten.

They informed me also that the war tax imposed by Arabi during the rebellion was still being collected. Ancient and ubiquitous verily is the family of rogues!

Next day we completed our exploration in this neighbourhood, and arrived at nightfall at Tel-el-Amarna—some miles further down the river. In the morning we walked to Hadji Kandeel, a village not far from the ruined city of Khou-en-Aten, which covers more than a square mile of ground with the débris of houses and mounds which probably conceal the King's palace and temple, and would be well worth excavating. We sat down in an open space in the centre of the village, and invited the inhabitants to open a trade in relics. They brought us some really valuable ones—a lapis lazuli ring with the inscription, "Amen Ra, Lord of Upper and Lower Egypt," a curious discovery in the city of the King who had proscribed the worship of Amen.

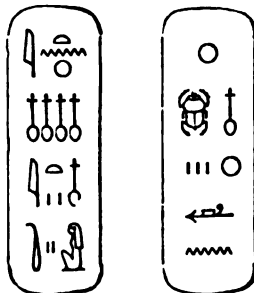
We secured another ring of Queen Nofretiti; it was of some hard composition, buff yellow, with the Queen's name in bright blue characters.

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We purchased numbers of fragments of necklaces, some of them of very graceful form; lotus flowers enamelled in their proper colours, &c; also a bronze ring with the name of Khou-en-Aten engraved upon it; also a blue enamelled asp's head, as worn on the brow by Egyptian sovereigns, male and female.



Another treasure was a scarab with the figure of the Nile God.

The inscription reads—"Thothmes the Third, The Good God, loving the Lord Nile."

The deity is represented with a pot-belly to indicate the abundance of good things for which his votaries have to thank him.

We obtained also another scarab with a grotesque design of the god Bess, flanked right and left by two apes who were worshipping him.



We subsequently visited a great number of tombs, high up in the cliffs behind Tel-el-Amarna, as well as some below. Amongst others I found one in a very perfect state of preservation, in which Ben Maut, the sister of the Queen (see Plate XXVIII., No. 14), is represented in charge of her royal nieces, who are walking in procession like a school, and with the vivacity which characterises the sculptures of this reign, the sisters are represented with their heads turned towards each other chatting. I have no doubt that they were chatterboxes, as I have heard said of young princesses of more modern date.

Both they and their aunt wear the side lock—the token that they are in the royal succession. That the Queen's sister wears it adds confirmation, were any needed, that the right to the throne was in her.

This tomb must have escaped the notice of the King's enemies, for the features of him and of the Queen are quite perfect, and it is worth noting that they are both painted of a dark red complexion.

In another tomb we saw a procession of chariots in which the King is followed by the Queen, the Queen's sister, and the Princesses, each in separate chariots driven by charioteers. Their names are over their heads. There were seven daughters. Meriaten, Maketaten, Ankesenaten, Nofruaten, Nofroua, Sotepenra, and Bektaten. Meriaten, the eldest, became the consort of a man called Ras-Aakanecht-Kheperou, who reigned in her right, succeeding Khou-en-Aten. In another tomb the King, Queen, and royal family are represented walking in front of their turreted palace. There is also a bird's-eye view of the gardens. In another the King is enthroned and the Queen is pouring out some beverage for him, while his youngest daughter is squatting on his foot, a second is offering him a cake on a platter, a third has an armful of flowers. Perhaps it was his birthday. They seem to have been a very domestic family. In another tomb the troops are at drill, going through the spear and shield exercise, and marching at the double. There is such a wealth of subject and such a profusion of monuments in the Tel-el-Amarna neighbourhood, that they would require a volume for their description.

## CHAPTER XLIII.

Minieh—A Native Juggler—Middle Egypt—Feshn—Visit to a Sheik—His Evidence  
—The Ibrahimieh Canal—El-Wasta—An Apple of Discord—El-Gezireh—El-  
Abadeh—Evidence of the Inhabitants.

ON leaving this place, we found ourselves in Middle Egypt. I shall not attempt to give in detail the places we stopped at, and the evidence we collected in this region; it would be but a repetition of that already recorded.

I visited the sugar factory at Minieh, as well as the estate. The latter is the most extensive in all Egypt, consisting of 30,000 acres, 2,000 acres of which are planted with sugar cane, the rest fallow or with cereals. The estate and factory are both beautifully managed, and there is no forced labour; but at Rhoda, which I had also visited three days previously, the estate hands said that though they are supposed to get two piastres per day, the Sheik contracts to cut the cane by the acre, and forces his villagers to work for him at a nominal price.

This statement illustrates how difficult it is to eliminate forced labour from the factory system in Egypt. For even when the inspector conscientiously excludes it in the direct form, it occurs, nevertheless, in some indirect shape. This will be so as long as the Sheiks possess despotic power, and continue to be intermediaries between the men and their employers.

While visiting the town of Minieh, I came upon some

native strolling jugglers. The daughter of the chief magician, a girl of about fourteen, took a prominent part in the performance. Her father extracted rabbits, eggs, snakes, lizards, and other startling products from various parts of her person, which feats were greeted with shouts of laughter by the surrounding congregation, which was composed of very miscellaneous ingredients. It consisted of boatmen, amongst whom some of our crew were conspicuous, fellaheen, in town for market day, plenty of genuine street-Arabs, and a sprinkling of women arrayed in blue cotton gowns and veils. Presently the young girl mounted on her father's shoulders and pretended to be a mollah preaching a sermon. Her discourse consisted of the praises of the Prophet. As they came near me I held out a piastre to her, which she immediately stuck in the centre of her forehead, and effected a sudden transition from the praises of Mahomet, to the praises of myself; the crowd applauded loudly. She thereafter descended, and her father proceeded to put her through a performance so outrageously indecent, that I had to beat a hasty retreat. I was grieved for the poor child. The remaining members of the troupe consisted of a large ape and a goat, the former as clown, the latter as pantaloon. I fear the gross exhibition which formed the finale was only too much to the taste of an audience of fellaheen, to please whom no performance can be too broad.

While at Minieh I walked a considerable distance along the Ibrahimieh Canal and examined the cultivation right and left of it, as I had done at other portions of its course. It is above the general level of the plain, so that in its vicinity no pumping machinery, no sakiyehs, no shadoofs, are required, but the water is admitted

at pleasure to the fields below by means of sluices. Cotton, sugar-cane, tobacco, and other highly remunerative crops can in consequence be grown with exceptional cheapness.

Near Minieh, besides the great Daira estate of 30,000 acres, there are other large private properties. Sultan Pasha owns 10,000 acres in the neighbourhood; all these estates are privileged, and pay less than half the land-tax exacted from the peasant proprietors. The land is some of the best in Egypt, and it is, as already described, most favourably situated as regards irrigation. They are not entitled to exemption on the ground that it has been recently reclaimed. (Even where lands have been reclaimed in other Provinces, it has been chiefly by forced labour.) The canal to which the land owes its productiveness has been excavated by forced labour by the people. Much of the privileged land has been taken arbitrarily from the fellahs within recent memory. And then to add to the injustice it has been relieved of a large proportion of its land-tax, and the deficit left to be made up at the already plundered peasant's expense: on what ground of justice then can the existing exemptions be continued?

The equalization of the land-tax is a problem that requires immediate attention. Few reforms would give more universal satisfaction to all classes—the Pashas alone excepted. If Sultan Pasha aspires to prove the sincerity of his desire for the reorganisation of Egypt upon a just basis, let him set the first example in his own case, and voluntarily invite the assimilation of the land-tax on his property to the ordinary average rate paid by the peasant proprietors.

Soon after leaving Minieh we landed at a small town

called Feshn, where the Sheik invited us to his house. We did not however get beyond the court-yard, one side of which was occupied by a divan built of mud, which our host converted into a handsome resting place by throwing a Persian carpet over it. Here we sat and chatted. Amongst other things he confirmed the universal assertion that the compulsory purchase of salt is still enforced. Other townsmen were also present, and took part in the discussion.

They told me that the Daira estate in the vicinity amounted to 24,000 acres, and had all belonged to the natives: it had been taken from them by forced sales at mere nominal prices, and annexed by the late Khedive. The dispossessed proprietors were reduced to the condition of labourers, and were now miserably poor and destitute, but that was not all. Their farms, having been taken away, were converted into privileged land paying only half the land-tax it had paid previously, and then the wretched fellahs were compelled to work gratis to dig canals for the benefit of the soil which had been wrested from them. Those who still retained their land in the neighbourhood of the Ibrahimieh Canal and its branches were comparatively prosperous, because they obtained by its means two crops per annum. There was a good deal of indebtedness to the Greeks in their district, and many had thus been brought into the clutches of the Mixed Tribunals, and had lost their lands and been ruined by costs. Their cases had been dealt with in Cairo, and they had to pay counsel there exorbitant fees.

A native merchant present at this *al fresco* debate told me that they had not suffered that season from the low Nile, thanks to the high-level canal.

At some villages I visited in this district they complained that though a water-rate was levied on them for the use of the canal, yet the service canals had been stopped by the engineer and the water withheld. I suppose they had neglected to tip him.

It was stated to me from many quarters, that the bribing of the engineers who control the water supply is almost universal. The rich thus get the lion's share, while the poor who most need it are robbed of it, but have to pay their water rate all the same.

The Sheik informed me that the Mudir had required the Greeks to pay taxes the same as the natives, but that they had refused. Near Feshn there is a high mound—the grave of an ancient town—commanding an extensive view over the cultivated lands, and beyond that over the desert far away to the mountains. We were offered while in the bazaar a glass weight stamped with the name of a prophet who lived 800 years ago.

All the notables of the place escorted us back to the *Eva*; at that moment a Government tug-boat arrived, and we sent our firman on board and required its commander to tow us. With this assistance Eschment was reached the same evening at sunset. We invited the captain and officers to dine on board with our retinue. The cook of the *Eva* prepared a regular Arab feast, which was spread on the deck under the awning, and which they consumed Arab fashion with their fingers. Afterwards the crew entertained them with dance and song, and all went merry as a marriage-bell; but a reverse was in store, for by some mis-management they allowed their boat to be crushed subsequently between the tug and the *Eva*, and next day they were compelled to stay many hours at a place called

Wasta for repairs. I had however no reason to regret the delay, as it gave me an opportunity of visiting three villages in the neighbourhood, and to obtain some instructive evidence. The *Era* was moored under a high bank, where several girls, two or three of them really pretty, were washing their clothes and filling their pitchers. We flung an orange to these damsels, which became immediately a very apple of discord, for one caught it, and another snatched it away from her. A fierce strife ensued, some of the group taking the part of one, and some of the other; they had been sweetly smiling angels when they looked up expectantly at us, they became furies when they looked at each other. We record the fact with sorrow, we dropped a tear upon our MS. as we did so. The resulting blister does not appear in print, because there is no type made and provided for registering such evidence of emotion. We restored good humour amongst the contending sisters by distributing oranges all round.

The villages which we visited in this neighbourhood were El Wasta, El Gezireh, and El Abadeh. Not far to the rear of the first, a branch of the Bahr Youssouf is brought to an abrupt termination by the railway embankment which has been constructed across it, leaving nothing but a dry channel beyond. I give as much of the statements made to me here as is not a repetition of those already detailed. They said:—"Much of our lands has been taken away from us for the railway; no compensation has been given us. We are obliged to furnish runners to carry the letters from the railway-station to the different districts in the neighbourhood; these men get no remuneration whatever. Our land-tax is from P. T. 100 to P. T. 120 per feddan per



annum. We have only one crop annually, because the contractors, to save themselves the expense of a bridge, built the railway across the canal in one solid bank, completely blocking it. This might have been avoided by placing large iron tubes in the embankment to let the water through. Most of the land in the neighbourhood belongs to persons who obtained it, at the expense of the people, through Court favour, the owners being dispossessed. These lands are privileged to pay only one-third the current land-tax. The bed of the Canal Youssouf may still be discerned at the back of this district; it could be restored, and enable us to get two crops per annum instead of one."

They made the usual complaint of the salt-tax and the date-tree tax.

Repeated complaints have been made to me that the people's land has not only been taken away from them for canals and embankments (railway and canal), but that they continue to exact the tax upon the lands confiscated, although the fellahs have ceased to possess them.

During our walk we met one of the fortunate owners of the privileged lands referred to, a Turkish grandee riding a large white ass, like the Great Mogul, under the shade of a green umbrella. A considerable retinue of attendants formed his escort. He saluted us courteously as he passed. He was a nice-looking old gentleman; most Turks have most bland and winning manners—to their equals and superiors—and no one would suspect them capable of the deeds of remorseless cruelty and oppression which one hears of on inquiry. Commend me to a Turk for scientific obstruction to all reform, which he will oppose by sheer

"*vis inertia*" which lies behind that suavity of manner and which can only be overcome by the utmost energy and determination brought to bear personally. European reformers armed with sufficient power can compel obedience.

## CHAPTER XLIV.

Contrast of Middle with Upper Egypt, and with the Delta respectively—Conclusions  
—Return to Cairo—Boulak Antiquities—Fate of Royal Mummies.

THE state of things in Middle Egypt does not differ materially from that in the more southern districts, but there is a greater degree of prosperity, owing to the fact that an important percentage of the farms there bear two crops annually, or they are in a position to grow sugar-cane and cotton crops fully five times more valuable than wheat and other cereals which form the staple in the south.

The more prosperous condition of Middle Egypt is due solely to one cause, viz., the existence of a high-level canal, which renders irrigation cheap and easy for all the lands along its course. They did not suffer from the low Nile this year, as other districts did.

One of the causes of poverty in Upper Egypt, is, the want of a similar high-level canal. Nothing could better illustrate this fact than the contrast in the condition of the two regions afforded by an inspection along the course of the Bahr Yousuf, which begins nearly opposite Tel-el-Amarna, and continues at a level considerably above the Nile throughout Middle Egypt as far as Eshment, and the Fayoum.

This canal was originally constructed about 4,000 years ago, by King Amenemhat of the twelfth dynasty, but it had been allowed to silt up. It was deepened

and restored by the late Khe capable of improvement. I canals might be constructed districts along its course whi miles, are not irrigated by it produce one crop per annum. of Middle Egypt is decidedly south, there is nevertheless mu one crop is obtainable.

There is more indebtedness money-lenders, and more com the Mixed Tribunals.

In other respects the causes as in the south ; one very pre dispossessing of large number tors of their lands, and the from that of owners to that of

As owners they only paid 140 land-tax per feddan ; as t much as P. T. 350.

The salt-tax and the date-p prominent here as they are fur

Generally I may say that Upper and Middle Egypt is c share all the same points, and p for solution ; whereas the De them both. It is a difference existing under conditions whic and easily borne. It may wherever a farm bears two cro tax is a light and easily-paid only one crop it is excessive.

Next day we reached Cairo, :

three weeks very agreeably. Not only were there large numbers of military officers of every branch of the service stationed there, but many of their wives ; these, with the ladies of the permanent official staff, furnished abundant material for social gatherings, which were made the most of by the reigning queen of the European society at Cairo, the Countess of Dufferin, who gave a series of brilliant receptions. There were besides, polo, cricket, and tennis matches, reviews, distributions of medals, and other incidents to add variety to each day's programme.

Amongst these attractions were the garden parties of the Consul General, but the most memorable social incident of all was the subscription ball, given under the auspices of their Excellencies, on behalf of those who had suffered by the burning of Alexandria. This *fête* took place in the Opera House, the stage being removed for the occasion, and replaced by a very garden of palm trees and other tropical plants, interspersed with fountains, illuminated by the electric light. Amongst these fairy-like groves, tea and other refreshment buffets were arranged, and brilliant uniforms and pretty women circulated in the intervals of the dancing, and added to the fairy-like effect. The Khedive, with his *entourage* of Pashas, occupied a dais, and took great interest in the proceedings, especially in a Scotch reel, executed by officers of the Highland regiments, their partners wearing tartans. His Highness, who had never witnessed anything of the kind, looked rather alarmed when, the excitement growing fast and furious, the gallant Scots took to snapping their fingers, stamping, and giving vent to the appropriate noises which accompany these exercises.

Meanwhile the boxes were filled with a shifty population of chaperones in lace and diamonds, as well as tired dancers who wanted to rest or visit their acquaintance from *loge* to *loge*. The greater part of one tier was veiled with lace curtains for the benefit of the Hareem ladies of high degree. The Consort of the Khedive occupied one of these, and her diamonds could be seen flashing through the folds of lace and gauze which screened the vice-regal box.

The brilliant effect of the entire scene was enhanced by the rich and varied uniforms of the Oriental and the Western world. Pashas and Ministers of State mingled with the British Hussars, Dragoon, Highland and line regiment costumes, nor was the finery of the brand-new Gendarmerie corps absent. The interest of the *fête* was not lessened by the fact that most of the chief actors in the last chapter of Egyptian history were there to take part in the splendid pageant.

Amid these social distractions I found time to pay several visits to my old friends the Pyramids. On one of these occasions I found the 42nd Regiment in possession, and the towering pile of Cheops was covered with the gallant heroes of Tel-el-Kebir. They swarmed over its face on every ledge, from base to apex. They scrambled everywhere, where the Arab guides cautioned them not to go. I entered into conversation with a non-commissioned officer, who gave me many interesting details of the battle as an eye-witness, at the end of which narrative he observed what a very *dry* climate Egypt was, and there never was a country in which it was harder to get good beer. This caused me to produce my flask, to which he paid the sincerest compliment in his power. Later in the day he sought

me out, took me mysteriously aside, and communicated the exciting news that he had discovered where plenty of good beer was to be had, and hospitably offered to stand treat!

During one of my visits to the Museum of Boulak last year to inspect the treasures imported from Deir-el-Bahari, I had applied for permission to have the coffin of Thothmes III. opened, that I might view the remains. A couple of the Arab attendants were sent with me for this purpose, and they went to the first coffin that came to hand, drew back the linen cloth which veiled the face, and said, "dis Totmes." I however immediately recognized "dis" as Pinotem. I knew him by sight, having seen a photograph of him. Nothing abashed, they took me to another, and going through the same ceremony once more repeated their formula, "dis Totmes." Him also I at once disowned, for he turned out to be another acquaintance of mine, Nibsoni, a chief priest of Thebes, and I told them so. This second detection bothered them—they saw that they had to do with one of the initiated; they opened a third, and announced with rather more diffidence, "Well, dis Totmes." I laughed at them, and they could not help joining when I demonstrated that this was a lady. I read them her name off the case; it was in fact the mummy of Queen Notemit. I observed that her hair, brown streaked with grey, was beautifully braided, and in a perfect state of preservation. The outer wrapper of the mummy was pink, the case which enclosed it was splendidly ornamented with gold, precious stones, and enamel, the hieroglyphic inscriptions were inlaid in these materials, turquoise blue, ruby red, and golden yellow enamels alternating. I

have given the inscription at page 401. The attendants now humbly suggested that I should find "Totmes" for myself. I desired nothing better. I propounded to them that the only way to do that was to open all the coffins in succession.

Thus it came to pass that I viewed the sacred contents, and the interior of all the cases of which the less lucky public have to content themselves with inspecting the outside. Rasekanen of the seventeenth dynasty, Amosis, Thothmes II., Amunoph I., and Rameses the Great—besides numerous lesser celebrities. I had a grand innings, and spent the whole morning there making notes and copying inscriptions, but Thothmes III., the object of my search, was not there. It was now lunch time—the chief attendant made me a sign to follow him, and we went into a warehouse.

That warehouse was a most weird place—in the dim light I could see mummy-cases and sarcophagi piled on each other in wild confusion, statues, stelæ, statuettes, cups and vessels, and wooden cases crammed with the spoils lately brought from Thebes, consisting of about 6000 articles. What would I have given for a day to myself among these treasures!

The object of my search, however, was not to be found, so I saw not the conqueror of Cyprus for that time. Nevertheless I had not done a bad morning's work. Failing Thothmes I had viewed the mortal remains of a not less illustrious Pharaoh—Rameses the Great.

The mummy of Rameses does not appear to have been rifled by the Arabs, the bandages are all undisturbed, and the breast rises so high as to give the idea of something bulky being stowed beneath the linen



envelopes. There it lay, the body of the mighty Sesostriis, who had left such deep traces of his long reign in history as a conqueror, and in architecture as a builder ; even in Scripture as the Pharaoh who made the captive Israelites build him the treasure cities of Rameses and Pithom, and whose daughter brought up Moses. An interesting bit of evidence has lately come to light identifying him with the treasure city which bears his name. Naville has translated the great historical stele at Abou Simbel. It is in the form of an address from the God Pthah to the divinely favoured monarch, and in line sixteen he says, "Thou hast constructed a magnificent residence city to fortify the frontiers of the land, even *the city of Rameses* ; it is solid upon the earth like to the four pillars of the firmament." This conclusively sets at rest any doubt that may have existed as to the identity of this Pharaoh with that taskmaster under whom Moses slew the Egyptian, and fled to escape the consequences.

The coffin is not the original one, but of later date, substituted, as the inscription on it declares, owing to the damaged condition of the first. The text traced in black upon its surface runs as follows : "The sixteenth year, the IVth month of the season of Pirt, the VIIth day, the date of withdrawal of King Ouser ma Ra Sotep en Ra—the great god—from the tomb of Ma men Ra Sethi Menephthah, in order to deposit it in the tomb of the Lady An . . . of the Great Palace, by the priest of Amen, King of the Gods, (even by) Ank en Amen, son of Bolia, and by the holy father prophet of Amen Ra, king of the gods, minister of the temple of Rameses II., in the temple of Amen En sip ka shon ta, son of Back en Khonsou, after that their mother, who

is over the Hall of Mourning, had declared before the king what was the condition of the mummy, and that they had suffered no damage in their removal from the tomb where they had been, and that they had been transported to the grave of the Lady An . . . of the grand abode, where rests in peace the king, Amen-hotep."

It appears from the above that there had been more than one removal of the royal remains, owing to what cause is not explained, but may be gathered from the evidence of some sacrilegious rascals, who were, no doubt, examined under the persuasive influence of the bastinado, or whatever ancestor of that "development by natural selection" may then have been in favour, *à propos* of the robbery of a Royal mummy.

"We found the coffins of the king and his wife, Noubkha, as also the funeral coffins in which they were; we found the sacred mummy of the king, and beside it was his sword, as well as a considerable number of amulets and ornaments of gold on his neck; his head was covered with gold, and the whole mummy was decorated with gold and silver within and without, and encrusted with every kind of precious stones. We took the gold that we found upon the mummy, as also the amulets, and the ornaments off his neck, and the gold plates off the coffins. We took also everything that we found on his royal consort; then we burned their coffins, and we took away their furniture, which consisted of vessels of gold, of silver, and of bronze, and we divided the spoil into eight parts."

The investigation into these robberies took place in the reign of Rameses IX. It appears, therefore, that the plunder of tombs is of very ancient date, and has



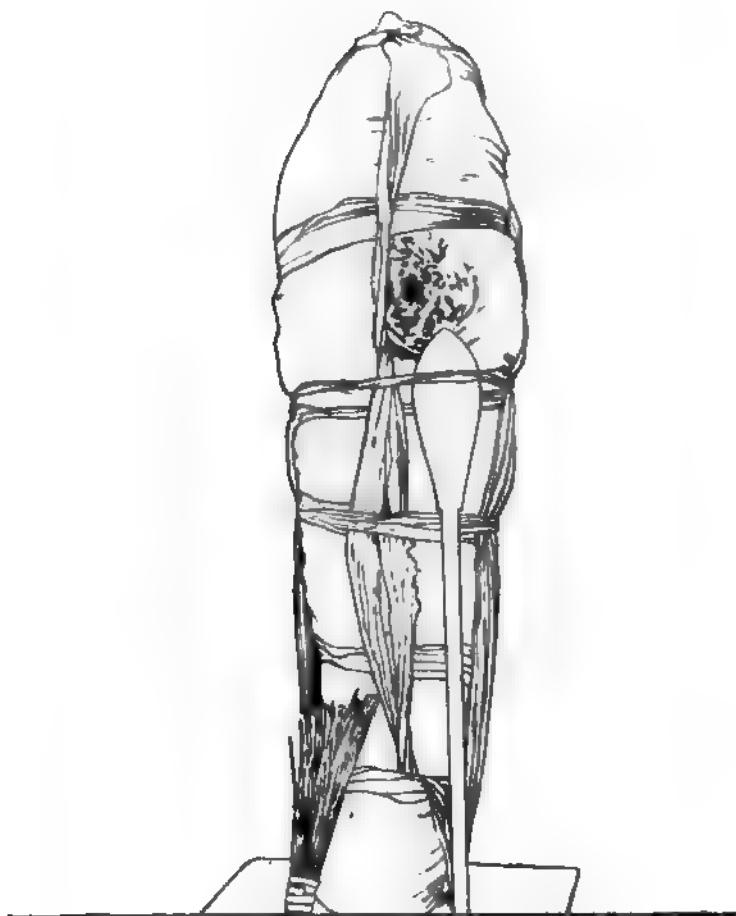


PLATE 25.

MUMMY OF THOTHMES III  
BOULAK

probably been going on from that day to this. It is surprising, in view of that fact, that any royal mummy should still be left. Rameses must have been a tall man; the mummy is still five feet ten-and-a-quarter inches long, and, when shrinkage is allowed for, he cannot have been less in life than six feet two inches. I consulted a surgeon as to the allowance that must be made for the shrinking of the cartilages between all the joints of the neck, the vertebræ, and the limbs, and he said it could not be put at less than four or five inches. The mummy was enveloped in pink linen, as in Plate XLVIII., and appeared in a perfect state of preservation; it had not been unrolled, and, consequently, there was no opportunity of judging whether the features resembled the statues and bas-reliefs. In the case of some of the mummies recently unrolled it was perfectly possible to judge what the features had been in life; those of the high priest Nibsoni were very little changed; he looked as if asleep, except for the dark mahogany colour, but he may not have been very fair in life; he has long wavy hair of iron grey, the features are European, and were correctly reproduced in the "Illustrated London News," containing the interesting article on the subject by Miss Amelia B. Edwards. The features of Pinotem, on the other hand, have a very Ethiopian look; he has an immense mouth, of which, no doubt, the lips once were thick, and a decidedly African skull, from which the hair had been shaved off.

/ 184  
Has been  
unrolled

## CHAPTER XLV.

Cairo—Causes of Disaffection—List of Foreign Salaried Officials—Small proportion of Englishmen included—Effects to be anticipated.

WHILE in Cairo I took great pains to ascertain from native sources the secret of the sympathy Arabi met with there and in Alexandria amongst the very numerous class of small employés.

Educated native Egyptians informed me that it was due to resentment at the ousting of natives from the subordinate official posts which had been going on at an increasing rate ever since the commencement of the European Control, and the substitution of Syrians and others. The native student class were closely connected with them by ties of relationship and still more by community of interest, because they were being educated to fill precisely the class of posts which they now saw passing away to foreigners; it is not surprising therefore that they hotly espoused the so-called National movement, which had for its object the restoration of the loaves and fishes which had gradually fallen more and more to the share of Circassians in the army, and of Syrians, Greeks *et hoc genus omne* amongst civilians. In support of his views he furnished me with the following lists of information as to the foreigners employed, and the value of their emoluments. The list, however, is not quite exhaustive.

NAMES AND ANNUAL SALARIES OF THE EUROPEAN  
OFFICIALS AND THEIR SUBORDINATES IN THE SER-  
VICE OF THE EGYPTIAN GOVERNMENT.

## RAILWAY ADMINISTRATION.

	<i>Egyptian Pounds.</i>
The President . . . . .	£3,000
Zimmerman, Administrator . . . . .	2,500
Hœuber (French), Secretary . . . . .	900
Private Secretary . . . . .	500
Engineer in Chief . . . . .	1,200
A. Nicour, Second Engineer (French) . . . . .	900
Locomotive Superintendent . . . . .	1,200
Inspector-General of Telegraphs . . . . .	900
Deputy do. do. . . . .	600
L. Mori, Deputy Traffic Manager (Italian) . . . . .	600

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£12,300

NOTE.—The European subordinates of this Adminis-  
tration are very numerous, and their annual  
salaries, together with their staff, such as inter-  
preters and writers, who, most of them, are  
Syrians, amount to . . . . .

£90,000

---

£102,300

## STATE DOMAINS.

Bonteron, French President . . . . .	£3,000
The English President . . . . .	3,000
Rochmonteix (French), Member . . . . .	1,000
Add 500 Egyptian pounds per year for travelling expenses.	
Vaillant (French), Director of Accounts . . . . .	800
De le Fitte (French), Engineer in Chief . . . . .	800
Chelus (French), Second Engineer . . . . .	600
Chassains (French), Third Engineer . . . . .	600
Bouard (French), Secretary . . . . .	500

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£10,300

NOTE.—Their European and Syrian subordinates are  
numerous, and their annual salaries amount to . . . . .

30,000

---

£40,300

## DAIRA SANIYEH.

	<i>Egyptian Pounds.</i>
The English Controller . . . . .	£2,500
Gay Lusac (French), do. . . . .	2,500
	<hr/>
	£5,000
NOTE.—The salaries of the European and Syrian subordinates amount to . . . . .	20,000
	<hr/>
	£25,000
	<hr/> <hr/>

## CUSTOMS.

A. Caillard, Director-General . . . . .	£3,000
Controller-General of Customs . . . . .	1,000
Secretary do. . . . .	1,000
Bellandi (Italian), Director of Custom House, Alexandria . . . . .	1,000
Kakati (Syrian), Director of Port Said Custom House	500
Director of Suez Custom House . . . . .	600
	<hr/>
	£7,100
NOTE.—Most of the employés of all the Egyptian Custom Houses are Europeans and Syrians; very few are Natives, perhaps one in ten, and they are badly paid; the salaries of the former amount to . . . . .	30,000
	<hr/>
	£37,100
	<hr/> <hr/>

## POSTAL ADMINISTRATION.

De Halton, Director-General . . . . .	£1,500
Deputy (Italian) . . . . .	800
	<hr/>
	£2,300
	<hr/> <hr/>

NOTE.—All the employés of the Administration are Syrians and Europeans; very few are Natives; their annual salaries are unknown to me.



## FINANCES.

	<i>Egyptian Pounds.</i>
Blum Pacha (German), Under Secretary of State .	£2,000
Mazouk, Inspector of "Octroi" . . . . .	2,000
Borelli, Advocate . . . . .	1,500
Selligmann, Chief Secretary . . . . .	800
Chakour (Syrian), Chief of the Department of Employés and Tax Collectors . . . . .	700

NOTE.—The above post did not exist before; this duty used to be in charge of the Chief Clerk of the Finances.

Vita Harary, Chief Accounter . . . . .	500
Vita Adda . . . . .	500
	<hr/>
	£8,000

NOTE.—The European and Syrian subordinates in this Ministry proved to be very numerous, and their salaries amount to £50,000 per annum .	50,000
	<hr/>
	£58,000
	<hr/> <hr/>

With regard to the Ministry of Justice, Mixed Tribunals, Ministry of Interior, Ministry for Foreign Affairs, Public Works, and Public Instruction, the annual salaries of Europeans and Syrians, Superiors and Subordinates of the above Administrations, are estimated at about . . . £250,000

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## SUMMARY.

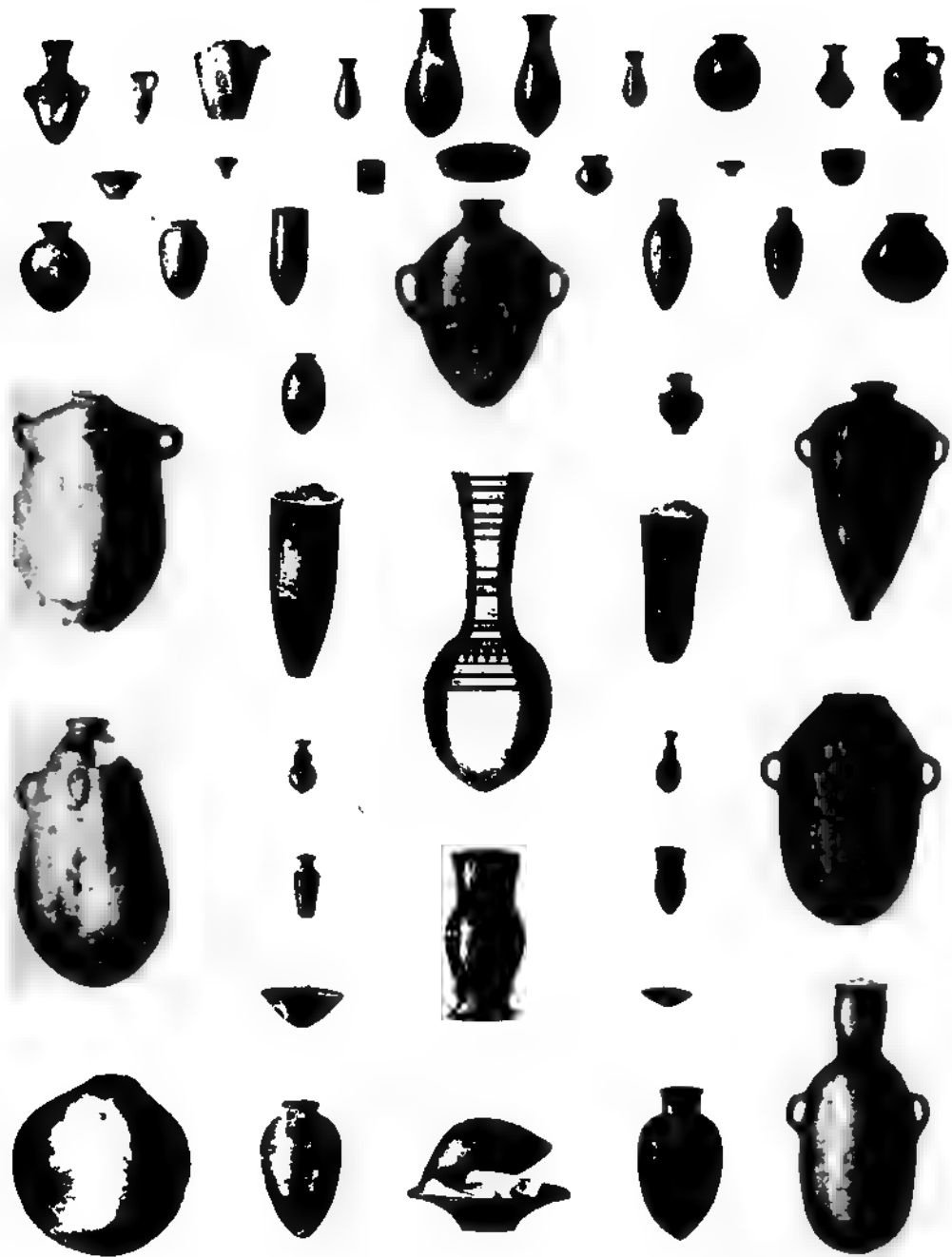
Heads of Railway Administration . . .	£12,300
Subordinates . . . . .	90,000
	<hr/>
	£102,300
Chief Controllers of the State Domains . .	£10,300
Subordinates . . . . .	30,000
	<hr/>
	40,300

	<i>Egyptian Pounds.</i>
Brought forward . . . . .	£142,6
Chiefs of Daira Sanieh . . . . .	£5,000
Subordinates . . . . .	20,000
	<hr/>
Chiefs of Customs Department . . . . .	£7,100
Subordinates . . . . .	30,000
	<hr/>
Chiefs of Postal Department . . . . .	£2,300
Subordinates not known to informant.	<hr/>
Chiefs of Finance . . . . .	£8,000
Subordinates . . . . .	50,000
	<hr/>
Other Departments . . . . .	250,0
	<hr/>
Grand Total . . . . .	<u>£515,0</u>

It must be understood that the natives, witho exception, are turned out from their service witho just cause ; they are replaced generally by Syrians wi large salaries, great discontent and ill-will prevailin amongst the student class and the native politic element of Cairo in consequence. They were very gla when they heard that the English were intending make improvements in the country and give the justice ; now, contrary to what they had expected the English, they observe that they can hardly obta any employment whatever in the Administrations und the direction of the English or Europeans.

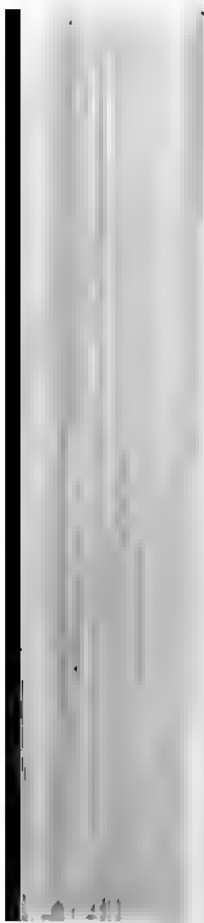
(The above remarks are those of my informant.)

It must not be imagined that I advocate the restor tion of the minor administrative posts at present, st less the chief ones to native hands ; they have lost the because they have proved untrustworthy. Let Egyptia officials prove themselves capable of honestly dischar ing their duties for the benefit of the great mass of the



LATE II.

ANCIENT POTTERY, FOUND IN TOMBS, OF THE IV<sup>TH</sup> V<sup>TH</sup> & 6<sup>TH</sup> DYNASTIES



fellow countrymen, and all of us would be only too glad to see them installed, and the money kept in the family, instead of going to strangers—but so long as they abuse their power, and pillage and maltreat their fellow countrymen, installing them would not be giving Egypt to the Egyptians, but to that small minority of them which we may call the predatory class, to the cost and the serious injury of the nation at large. The sooner they learn this lesson the better—they would learn it soonest of all if Egypt could for a time be governed by Englishmen like our Indian Province. So the dream of Egypt for the Egyptians would be soonest realized.

My main object in giving these details has been not to object to the extent of European control (on the contrary, I would increase it), but to account for the difference of feeling with reference to the English occupation evinced respectively in the Provinces and in Cairo and Alexandria.

Much stress has been laid upon the cost to Egypt of European administration; the above case against it has been made out by its opponents, and must be assumed to be its maximum. I do not think that half a million sterling would be at all too much to pay for a really honest and efficient administration of the departments mentioned.

But half-measures will not do: to patch the old garment with new stuff is, as I have before pointed out, to make the rent worse. Our reforms must be of the root and branch order—the more thorough the process the quicker the cure.

In examining the list of foreign officials above given one fact is very striking—that is, the absurdly small

proportion of Englishmen amongst them. Out of thirty-five appointments mentioned, only six are held by Englishmen. But long experience and observation have convinced me that none but Englishmen can be depended upon. All the other nationalities sympathize with many of the old abuses, and too often even with slavery. Nor do they possess the indispensable quality of impartiality. They are prone to favour their own countrymen. They are constantly accused of this by the natives. And the charge has been confirmed to me many times by Europeans who are behind the scenes. We have lately increased this disparity by consenting to exclude Englishmen from judgeships of the native courts. The effect of this concession, however, is somewhat mitigated by the fact that the President of this department is an Englishman. But only to a small extent. At least half these Judges should have been Englishmen. The same remark applies to the other departments. It will be observed that a considerable number of Syrians figure in the above list. A still larger proportion would be found amongst the subordinates. This is specially irritating to native Egyptians, without the compensation of increased trustworthiness. It is to be lamented that England has not the courage of her position, and shrink from using her power in the manner most likely to benefit the country she seeks to regenerate. We are disposed to be so sensitive and scrupulous about appearing to take to ourselves an undue share of the loaves and the fishes, that we have kept little beside the crumbs, while at the same time we are taking the bread of effectual reform out of the mouths of the people of Egypt.

## CHAPTER XLVI.

Pyramid of Meidoum and Tombs of the ancient Empire—Pottery of Third Dynasty.

HAVING heard that the Pyramid of Meidoum had been pierced, and the central chamber gained, I visited it. The débris which encumbered the base had been cleared from the north face down to the level of the desert, and proved what I had ascertained in 1879 by excavations, *Mr. Hinde* as mentioned in "Nile Gleanings," that the mound on *Petrie* which it appears to stand is not a natural mound, but *a Roman* the base of the Pyramid itself. Splendidly built of cut *Excavations* stone, the quarry rubbish with which it is covered *Recent* conceals three great stages or steps; they are built of *the same* a beautiful fine-grained white limestone. The joints of *1890-91* the masonry are so closely fitted as to resemble cabinet makers' rather than masons' work, and the lower portion now laid bare has so new and fresh an appearance that it is evident it must have been covered up from very early times.



The central chamber had been entered before; it was perfectly empty, and without inscription; the only things found in it were two pieces of timber, such as might be used to move a heavy weight. The chamber itself was tent-shaped, *i.e.* the walls instead of being upright, inclined inwards, so as to reduce the

span of the roof and enable it better to bear the enormous superincumbent weight.

It is partly built and partly excavated from the nucleus of rock which rises beneath the centre of the Pyramid and forms its core. It is a curious illustration of the persistency and frequent truth of tradition, that the natives have always asserted that there was a core of rock around and over which it was built.

I have already described and figured in "Nile Gleanings," Ch. III., two of the tombs in the neighbourhood one of which belonged to a functionary of the court of King Senofrou, by name Nofremaat, the other to his wife, Princess Atet. I visited these again, and found in the first named evidence that Meidoum is indeed the Pyramid of Senofrou, for at the top corner, at left hand of entrance, I observed the following inscription



*i.e.*, Senofrou men te—The resting-place or cemetery of Senofrou. There was not, and never had been anything more in the way of inscription there, and the intention was clearly to indicate the locality which took its name from the vast monument close at hand. The use of the  without its complement  is

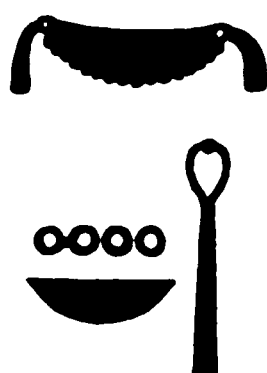




very archaic; the chess-board pattern on the lower part is also worth observing, though it is not conclusive as to whether this character is meant for a fortress or a chess-board, for the squares might represent bricks, of which probably the oldest forts were built. At the extremity of this tomb occurs a bas-relief of Nofremaat seated at a table of offerings.

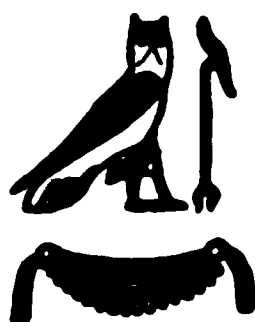
I visited altogether nine tombs in this neighbourhood. Some of them were of brick, some of brick faced with stone, but without inscription or sculpture, and three of them were of stone and covered with inscriptions and sculptures. Here, therefore, is probably represented the transition period from the old brick graves without inscription to the new order of things, stone mastabahs with inscriptions, and if I am right in this conjecture, we have the explanation of why no record has ever been found of the civilization which must have existed for centuries before the stately mausoleums of Meidoun and Ghizeh were built. The poet says, "*vixere fortes ante Agamemnon*," but the fame of those braves has not been handed down because stone inscriptions had not come into fashion, or, perchance, been invented.

Further on, I proceeded to the tombs of Ra Hotep and Nofre te, the originals of those painted statues with crystal eyes, which are the glory of Boulak Museum and the admiration of all its visitors. The walls furnish interesting illustrations of the transition from picture writing to the hieroglyphic system, *e.g.*, in the annexed woodcut, signifying a necklace of silver, the necklace is represented by a picture of the article intended, while the material is written by the conven-

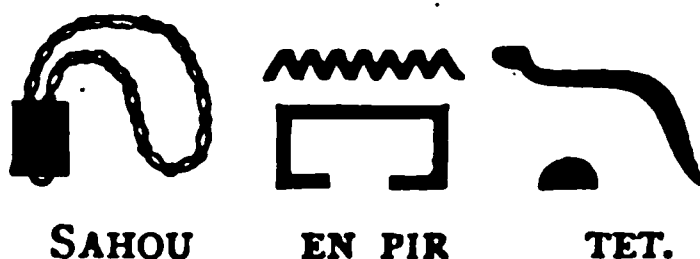
tional signs for silver,  signifies white, and  is the sign for metal. Another ancient Egyptian name



for silver is “white gold,” which is interesting as showing that gold was known to them before silver. The Greek name for this metal also signifies white. Another collar is described as being of  pure  whatever material that may indicate. The list of these



and various other prized articles is headed with the annexed inscription,



SAHOU



EN PIR

TET.

*i.e.*, “Treasures of the eternal home”—a poetical title for the grave, and giving an instructive insight into the light in which they viewed it. In this inscription the word ‘treasure’ is represented by a loop of beads, which may have been used for money. Amongst these valuables are numerous vases, of which I append

woodcuts; some of them are of elegant forms—the prototypes and probably the remote ancestors of those Etruscan and Greek models upon which we have never succeeded in improving.



Amongst the provision made for the comfort and necessities of the deceased were oils, ointments, &c., of various kinds, the quantities of each being indicated. Oil is indicated by , an oil flask, and it is further stipulated that it shall be Ha, *i.e.*, of prime quality, signified by the lion's head and fore quarter, which signifies "foremost" . The two together must be translated, oil of first quality. An Italian gentleman at Cairo told me that in his country they still distinguish prime quality oil as "Leone," and we, too, have our Lion brand of some trade articles. Thus are far-apart ages linked together by community of ideas.

One kind of oil is mentioned as from the backbone or spinal marrow of some creature which is figured, but which I cannot recognize; it resembles a kid. Green pigment for the eyes is also named.

I observed close by this tomb a stele representing Ra Hótep and Nofre te seated opposite each other at a table of offerings. He is styled "Son of the king, of his very body begotten." She is described as "Grand daughter of a king." That "suten rekht" means grand-child is proved by the fact that while Ra Hótep is expressly stated to be son of the King, his children all bear the title of Suten rekht, they being royal grand children.

These tombs can now only be visited by special permission, and leave must be obtained to open them *i.e.*, to excavate the mass of rubbish with which they have been filled by the order of the authorities to preserve them from damage. I grieve to say even this expedient has not been successful. I saw the great stone lintel of Atet's tomb, with the fowling scene figured in "Nile Gleanings," broken, and part of it gone. On enquiry, they told me that stepping-stone being wanted for an irrigation channel not far off, they had taken part of it for that purpose! A pile of rubbish served as a ladder, and enabled me to examine more closely the inscription in front of Atet. I find it runs as follows: "Nofre Maat, hereditary chief—of the order of nobles—bearing the collar of honour—receives again *his life* with enjoyment." An interesting illustration of their notions as to the future state at that time, for it is accompanied by the fowling scene, which probably formed the old treasurer's favourite pastime.

## CHAPTER XLVII.

### THE PYRAMIDS OF DASHOOR, MEIDOUN, AND SAKKARAH.

Date of the Pyramids—The Brick Pyramids of Dashoor—Pyramid of Ounas—Mythology of the Sixth Dynasty.

IN 1881 I made a very careful examination of the ancient cemeteries of Meidoun, Dashoor, Sakkarah, and Ghizeh, and I have come to the conclusion that Dashoor contains the most ancient pyramids and tombs of all; Meidoun ranks next, Ghizeh third, and Sakkarah last. I believe the brick pyramids of Dashoor to be of the most remote date, and this impression is confirmed by the fact that in their neighbourhood the tombs also are of brick. Neither the one nor the other contains any inscription. There occur along the Dashoor plateau tombs constructed of crude bricks of great size, twenty-four inches by twelve, and eight inches thick. These tombs are not more than six or eight feet deep, and are paved with small flags; their sides are plastered, and upon the stucco, figures of men are painted in very primitive style, with red ochre. Beneath their feet are three bands of colours,—red, yellow, and black, which do duty as a cornice. These graves contain not mummies but skeletons, so fragile from extreme age that the bones may be crumbled between the fingers. This fact tells its own tale, for bones are the most durable of organic matters. These

have been in a soil and climate exempt from damp, and eminently calculated to preserve them; and we know skeletons even of the fourth dynasty are found to be still in tolerably sound condition—witness the skeleton of Menkaoura, now in the British Museum. We may fairly conclude, therefore, that Dashoor carries us back\* to the infancy of Egyptian pictorial art, and to the most archaic form of Egyptian sepulchre yet discovered. There occur also on the plateau other brick tombs of a more advanced type. There is a deep shaft lined with crude brick, flanked towards the top by a *vaulted* brick chamber. The arch is not, strictly speaking, keyed, but the wedged form which the cement naturally and necessarily took between the bricks all round the curved surface answered the same purpose. These tombs contain fragments of tables of offerings, engraved on a soft, easily-worked limestone; and in the neighbourhood of both classes of tomb are found the remains of large earthen vessels of very rude and coarse construction; the bottoms and sides being nearly two inches thick, and the surface marked with the straws and reeds upon which they had rested before being burnt in the kiln. All the structures which I have been describing are subterranean. The nature of the soil is such that it is quite clear they have always been at the same depth as they are now: no part of them ever rose above the surface. In this they differ markedly from the Mastabahs of the next succeeding period of architectural development: which were built above ground, first of brick, subsequently of stone, and

\* Nor is a less interval indicated between the rude figure-painting of the brick graves and the enamelled bas-reliefs of the Mastabahs of Ghizeh and Sakkarah.

constituted a new departure in funereal fashions, destined to furnish us with the earliest written records we possess, or I fear ever shall possess, of human civilization in very remote times.

The so-called Brick Pyramids are not really Pyramids at all, but gigantic Mastabahs. Close inspection reveals conclusive evidence that, when perfect, they rose in steps like that at Meidoum. The bricks of which they are composed are twice as large as ours, and contain bits of broken pottery; they are also stamped with a sort of trade-mark, those from one factory being fitted with two round holes, those from the other thus II

At the north end of one of them are the foundations of a stone temple, probably of later date. I could find no inscriptions. Near by are subterranean tombs of very remote date. Everything points to the conclusion that they are anterior to any of the stone pyramids. It is in itself improbable that the latter fashion having been introduced, any subsequent Pharaoh would be content with the meaner material. The story told and the inscription quoted by Herodotus smacks more of Greek fancy than of Egyptian fact.

Deep down below the surface, at the very foundations, I found the stone casing with which these monuments had once been covered: it was a fine white limestone, fitting close to the brick. The slabs were perfect and uninjured, having remained buried from the first. I found the soil upon which the structure rested to be a bright yellow gravel conglomerate. Nowhere could any trace of an entrance be discerned. Maspero is about to sink a vertical shaft right through the heart of the northernmost. I predict however that when the chamber is reached no inscription will be found. All

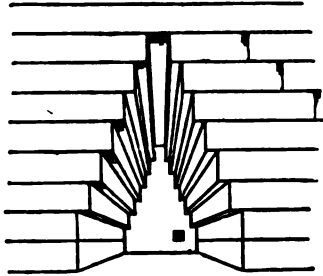
that I have seen convinces me that the fashion of sepulchral inscriptions was not introduced till towards the end of the third dynasty, and that only in the case of a few private tombs ; and that inscriptions in the chambers of pyramids were not customary before the fifth and sixth dynasties, although the architects occasionally painted the oval of their sovereign on some of the stones in the fourth. I visited several stone pyramids at Dashoor. The largest is about 650 feet square ; most of the facing still quite smooth, and the entire structure in very perfect condition. The central chamber is 80 feet high, the ceiling being formed by advancing each course of stones a few inches beyond that below. Neither in this, nor in the smaller one to the north, is there any inscription or any means of ascertaining the date.

On my way to Dashoor I climbed to the summit of the Mastabah el Pharaoun, where I found a jackal contemplating the view. His love of the picturesque did not however prevent him from bolting off at express speed : he disappeared over the edge, and I presently saw him scouring the plain at a pace which would have distanced the best pack in Leicestershire. I discovered the hole out of which he came, and regretted I could not secure the services of so expert an excavator, as it was quite possible he had made his way to the coveted chambers within.

I tried to penetrate the northernmost of the Dashoor pyramids. The passage is open, and I followed it for about fifty yards. It descends at a steep incline, perfectly straight, and without the granite portcullises which obstruct the corridors at Ghizeh and Sak-karah ; but I was only just recovering from a frac-



tured ankle, and the tunnel getting narrower, and more difficult, I had to give it up. My dragoman, Elias Talhami, now gallantly volunteered to go on for me with the Arabs, and to bring back a report of what he found ; and I sat watching the party retreating down the gallery, their lights growing small by degrees and beautifully less as they receded, and their voices coming back in a confused murmur as of bees in a distant barrel ; where there are Arabs you may be sure there will be voices, for they cannot keep their tongues quiet for five minutes.



Section of Central Chamber of Dashoor Pyramid, showing structure of roof.

They were away so long that I began to fear that some accident had occurred. However it afterwards appeared that Talhami had been taking measurements. He reported that there were two chambers or halls : the first was 27 feet long and 13 wide, the walls 10 feet high, above which the courses of masonry advanced at the rate of a foot each, right and left, until they met overhead in the centre at a height of 40 feet ; there was no inscription whatever, nor any trace of sarcophagus, coffin, or mummy ; the floor was perfectly clean, the joints in the masonry closely fitted. The perspective effect of the angular courses which formed the roof was very striking and peculiar. At the end of the chamber

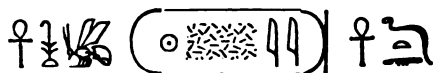
at the right hand was an opening in the wall : he crept through this and found an exactly similar chamber beyond. The opening was large enough to have passed an ordinary sized coffin through, not more. The thickness of the dividing wall was 15 feet, the corridor leading to the central hall was about 250 feet.

This pyramid seems originally to have had an outer casing of granite ; it has however all been removed, probably by the Arabs.

Some of the pyramids in this region have melted away in the course of ages by a process of natural decay, the stone having crumbled, and the detritus having rolled or been washed down the sides until the whole structure is scarcely distinguishable, at a moderate distance, from a natural mound. I actually succeeded in riding up to the top of one of these. Excavations, however, show that beneath the surface the stones are still perfect, and of large size. They are calcareous and abound in oyster shells, the mother-of-pearl in which is still in good condition, though stained yellow.

The Pyramids of Ghizeh have been preserved from similar decay by the casing of granite which protected them for so many ages, up to the time of the Arab invasion. At Sakkarah I examined the Pyramid of Pepi. When entered it was found that the interior had been almost entirely wrecked ; the central chamber was constructed of alabaster, at least the portion in which the sarcophagus stood, and the roof was formed of enormous blocks of stone meeting at an acute angle in the centre like an inverted V ; the walls are covered with hieroglyphics. I did not enter the pyramid myself, as it had been closed up and would

have required much time and expense to open. I was astonished at the depth to which it had been buried by the sand, a comparatively small portion only being above the ground, and that much decayed; the buried part of it however was in perfect preservation, having been protected by the sand. The entrance, constructed of enormous stones, was far beneath the present level of the desert. The inscriptions found in the interior of the pyramid I have just described, as in that of another of the sixth dynasty, turned out to be all religious.



Oval of Pepi Merira found in his sarcophagus.

These inscriptions prove that the mythology and the religious system of the Egyptians was fully developed at that remote period, and that the absence of religious illustration on the monuments previous to the eighteenth dynasty was a matter of fashion, and must not be taken as indicating any difference in religious views. In my opinion the men of the ancient Empire showed better taste and better feeling in not venturing to figure their deities in bodily forms.

The Pyramids may be grouped as follows:—

Third and previous dynasties are situated at Meidum, Dashoor, and probably Illaon and Howara.

Fourth, at Ghizeh.

Fifth, at Abooseer.

Fifth and sixth, at Sakkarah.

At the end of the sixth dynasty a period of internal disorder and foreign invasion seems to have set in, and pyramid building was interrupted, never again to be resumed, except in one or two isolated instances. A king

of the twelfth dynasty is said to have built a pyramid at the centre of Lake Mœris, and at a late period the Kings of Æthiopia took it into their heads to ape the Pharaohs of the ancient Empire, and to build pyramids in the neighbourhood of Mount Barkal. A few small pyramids of unknown date occur also in Upper Egypt, one near Thebes, and one near Esneh. But practically the desert plateau between Meidoum and Ghizeh was the region, and the first six dynasties the period of the pyramids. During the Middle Empire, and more so during the New Empire, the attention of the Pharaohs was occupied with temple building, and the excavation of vast rock-tombs, which last may be regarded as the converse of pyramid building. It has been supposed that the Step Pyramid at Sakarah may belong to the first dynasty, because Manetho says that Ouenephes, its fourth King, built a pyramid in that neighbourhood; but the fact that no inscriptions were found in it by Lepsius is unfavourable to that hypothesis. One of the ruined pyramids in the neighbourhood may be the one in question. Several pyramids have been counted between the Meidoum and Abooroash; of these about fifty were of royal dimensions, thus giving about one apiece to the kings of the first six dynasties, and accounting for a period of five hundred years. Those who may be tempted to suspect that the Tables of Kings that have come down to us may be apocryphal, are met by the solid evidence of the existence of those kings presented by the mausoleums they erected, each vast enough to have been, as indeed it was, the work of a lifetime.

## CHAPTER XLVIII.

Our Homeward Route—Some Analogies between India and Egypt—Ismailia—The Suez Canal Problem—Suggestions for solving it—Port Said—Roman Tombs there—Lake Menzaleh—Farewell !

WE returned to Europe *via* Ismailia and Port Said, spending some days in the two last named places, and I had an opportunity of obtaining evidence in the Province in which they are situated, confirming that already given, especially as respects the question of village debts.

Some of the bankers with whom I conversed threw doubts upon the estimates current as to the total amount of what I may call the domestic debt. It would be exceedingly difficult to arrive at the real amount of the unsecured obligations, because there is no registration of them. It might be ascertained by promulgating a decree that henceforward no debt would be enforced by the Courts which had not been registered : and this step would have much to recommend it.

Short of this, there is no other method available but an inquiry from village to village, and from house to house, which would occupy a long time, and the accuracy of the result would depend upon the honesty of the agents—not at all a matter of course if they are natives, and have any interest in warping their reports either one way or the other. At the time I commenced my inquiries, the estimates were very high, one Turkish

official putting it at two-thirds of the public debt! I had he had said that the *interest* paid upon them equalled that paid on the public debt, he would have been within the mark, but my investigations satisfied me that any such appraisal of the capital was a gross exaggeration.

It is not the capital amount, but the rate of interest paid upon it, that is a source of mischief and danger serious enough to require State intervention. I arrived at the conclusion that the total capital of the debt did not exceed ten millions; that it might be considerably less, but that in any case there was paid upon this an annual interest far exceeding the land-tax. It is the latter that requires to be reduced to reasonable proportions; the former may safely be left as it is. But if State regulated credit institutions be resorted to as a remedy, they must have very numerous branches, so as to bring the means of commuting his debts to every peasant's door, for experience has shown that the fellahs will not go to distant towns or submit to too elaborate forms. For this reason I am of opinion that the rate of interest must not be reduced below 10 per cent., so as to cover the cost of numerous branches and a certain amount of risk. But it would be a vast boon to the peasants to reduce their interest to 10 per cent. and they would gladly and willingly agree to pay this rate.

In recent telegrams from Egypt it is stated that neither the amount nor the interest of the village debt is as large as has been stated in earlier reports. I should much like to know what the method of inquiry has been, and who have been entrusted with the task of making it. If it has been done through native Ministers

and if they have a motive in minimizing the extent of the evil, as is quite conceivable, there would be no difficulty in getting returns made to order. It is significant that in only two Provinces have inquiries been made, and that further investigations have been indefinitely postponed.

Until I know more of the history and details of the inquiries referred to, I shall adhere to the conclusions which my own investigations, carefully carried out in every Province in Egypt except the Fayoom, have compelled me to adopt.

My readers have before them in detail the steps by which they have been arrived at, and may judge for themselves of the degree of credit to which they are entitled. That has been my motive in giving the substance, and, in some cases, the very words of so many conversations—even at the risk of tedious repetition.

Instructive hints might be derived as to an eligible method of dealing with the usury question from the manner in which it has been dealt with in one Province of India.

There is an Act called "The Deccan Agriculturists Relief Act, 1879," passed by the Legislative Council of India, which I recommend to the study of those entrusted with the reform of the peasant proprietors' position in Egypt. Its provisions are too long and complicated for introduction here, and a partial statement would not do them justice.

But one of the causes which encourage village-debts in India may not be out of place :

They have been aggravated in India by the rigidity of our revenue system there. If the dues are not punctu-

ally paid, not only does interest accrue, but damages up to 25 per cent. may be awarded in execution proceedings and a man's whole substance may be sold up. No allowance is made for bad seasons or late harvest. State-rent and revenue-payers are thus often obliged to borrow at usurious interest. Under native rule in India, as in Egypt, there was no security for the usurer except movable property; but the Civil Courts did in India what the International Tribunals did in Egypt—they introduced the power of selling the land in satisfaction of these usurious debts, conferring on the lender first-class security without altering the rate of interest. This resulted, in both countries, in ruin to vast numbers and in the creation of ill-will towards Europeans on the part of the natives.

Now this offers a close analogy to what has occurred in Egypt, as well as indicating our remedy—in the case of bad seasons or late harvests, give the fellahs time—and to cover the expense and risk of doing so, let interest at the rate of 1 per cent. per month be charged and let the term of credit be limited to six months, with an extension to twelve in special cases.

There are other analogies between Egypt and India which are instructive, especially as regards land tenure. *e.g.*, in both countries the village sheiks or headmen have had from remote times a despotic and arbitrary power over the lands in their communes. They claimed the right to resettle the area of farms, adding the acreage of those whose families had increased and reducing it in cases where they had diminished. Of course this power, patriarchal in theory, was terribly abused in practice. It is not yet entirely extinct



Egypt, although it is disappearing under European influence. It will be understood how powerfully this fact operated in prejudicing the village chiefs and Omdehs or Notables, the class from which the sheiks are selected, against European control, and in determining the support which Arabi obtained at one time from the Chamber of Notables. Another feature in the communal system exists both in India and Egypt. In both countries the village headmen were responsible for the land-tax, collecting it in the former for the zemindars, who were mere rent-chargers, having no right to interfere so long as they received their dues, in the latter for the Government. In both cases a joint proprietary interest was recognized. Another analogy may be found in the forced labour system, a kind of tribute to the Rajah, not yet extinct in remote and primitive parts of India, and still prevailing in Egypt, and a source of cruel oppression. Its worst features reached their culminating point in the late reign; but have been recently mitigated. In India the liability to forced labour has been to a considerable extent commuted into cash payments, and where this is not the case the cultivators are protected from abuse by penalties of imprisonment on those who may exact it unlawfully.

A similar precaution would be useful in Egypt, and the natives themselves suggest the partial commutation of forced labour into a special tax on the larger farms, now exempt.

At Ismailia we observed some sphinxes and other monuments of the reign of Rameses the Great, which had been exhumed from Pithom. There was quite a colony of them, and they appeared to be holding a

council of war. They associated oddly with the branches of the new town and its modern French houses. The hotel-keepers looked back to the brief period when Ismail formed the head-quarters of the British Staff as golden days indeed.

The town is rendered pretty by the abundance of splendid Poinsettias, which here attain the size of orchard trees, and make all the thoroughfares gay with their scarlet blossoms.

Lake Timsah must have presented an animated spectacle when it was filled with the English troopships. A long avenue leads down to its sapphire-blue waters, which acquire additional depth of colour from the circle of golden-yellow sandhills in which it is embosomed.

It occurred to me while passing through the Canal that its carrying capacity might be much more than doubled by illuminating it from end to end with electric lights; and by arranging that vessels going north should travel at night, and vessels going south by day. It is true that it might not be practicable to pass through in twelve hours, but it would assuredly be easy to reach Lake Timsah very much within twelve hours. In that very secure half-way harbour they might remain and complete their passage the next shift. They would thus make certain of getting through in thirty-six hours now they are sometimes delayed for twice and even three times that period.

The night voyage might be rendered as safe, or even safer than the day, by buoying the channel with small electric lights.

It might be rendered practicable to pass through in twelve hours by lining the banks with stone, s

*Vessels have  
at night  
...  
...  
...*

that no injury would be inflicted upon them by the wash.

Ships might then steam at eight or nine miles an hour. At the former rate they would effect the passage in twelve hours.

No doubt this scheme would entail a very considerable outlay, but the cost would be insignificant when compared with that of excavating a new canal.

The following advantages would result :

1st. The speed being increased, the steering power of ships would be greatly augmented, the slow pace now enforced being the most frequent, if not the sole, source of such accidents as grounding, and thus blocking the passage ; a constant cause of serious delay and expense.

2nd. The necessity of widening the present canal and enlarging the sidings would be much diminished.

3rd. There would be certainty as to the time required for passing through.

4th. The diluting of the dividends by the enormous increase of capital to be added either for a new canal or for enlarging the present one would be rendered unnecessary.

5th. Vexatious and costly delays through having repeatedly to moor in the sidings to let vessels coming in the opposite direction pass, would be prevented.

6th. The increased accommodation would be provided in a comparatively short space of time.

7th. Inconvenient international questions of monopoly rights and claims would be escaped.

8th. Conflicts of precedence of vessels of one nationality or service over another, with the resulting charges

of favoritism, would be avoided, and less occasion given for that annoying red-tapism which our western neighbours so delight in.

9th. The British shipping and commercial interests being satisfied, a chronic cause of irritation between two great nations would be removed. Rival schemes would be set at rest, and the Canal shares, our property included, would obtain an immediate and very large rise in value.

The most serious points of friction between English shippers and French Canal despots being set at rest, minor subjects of grievance may be easily adjusted.

The foregoing remarks relate only to the question as between the Canal Company and British shipowners and merchants; there is also its political aspect regards our position in the East. With reference to this we have a very important second string to our bow in the Alexandria and Suez Railway; and the advocates for premature withdrawal from Egypt must consider well whether it would be prudent to fling away our control over this before we have secured some other route in its place.

I once travelled from Ismailia to Port Saïd in a pilots' launch. It was crowded with these gentry, who were all French and all good fellows; they invited me to share their supper of bread, cheese, salad, and a reasonably fair Bordeaux. One of them triumphantly drew forth a fowl from his little carpet bag, and insisted on my accepting half of it. They were excellent company, and told many amusing stories, more or less professional, illustrating canal life and the eccentricities of various captains whose ships they had piloted. I could

not help regretting that the French officials of the Suez Canal Company have not a little of the *bon-homie* of their pilots. It is a pity that Frenchmen who have so many estimable qualities in private life should become intolerable directly they climb to posts of authority.

The exasperating officialism of French Jacks-in-office has contributed not a little to bring about the recent anti-Lesseps agitation, and to set the shipping interest upon projecting an independent canal under English auspices.

I cannot help thinking that the advocates for the Lesseps monopoly would have occupied stronger ground if, instead of basing their contention upon treaty rights, they had appealed to his moral claims upon our consideration. The latter are obvious, and would not be contested within reasonable limits. After all, it is not French shareholders, but the Egyptian Government, that furnished the lion's share of the money; the latter contributed, in one way or another, no less than seventeen millions sterling towards the construction of the Canal.

Lesseps rendered useful service, no doubt, but he did not even originate the idea of the Canal: it was an Englishman who did so, viz., Lieutenant Waghorn. He it was who first directed attention to the advantages of the Isthmus route, and paved the way for the Suez Canal. But the scheme would have fallen still-born but for the enterprise of the rulers of Egypt. The latter country, therefore, has the first claim for consideration in future arrangements.

## COST TO EGYPT OF SUEZ CANAL.

Shares taken in the Company by H.H. Said Pasha	£3,544,120
Award of Emperor Napoleon to compromise concession of forced labour . . . . .	2,960,000
Paid to Canal Company for land and buildings near Cairo, called Cheflik-el-Wady . . . .	400,000
Paid to Canal Company to cancel concession of land on two sides of Canal as per contract, 23rd April, 1869 . . . . .	1,200,000
Paid to Canal Company for works executed on Sweet Water Canal, and as compensation for relinquishing Company's claim to that Canal	400,000
Cost of works executed by Government in cutting Sweet Water Canal . . . . .	428,927
Paid to French contractors for completion of Sweet Water Canal by contract . . . . .	815,833
Expenses of various missions to Europe and Constantinople in connection with Canal, and expenses in opening Canal . . . . .	1,011,193
	<hr/>
	£10,760,073
Interest paid on above from respective dates to September, 1873 . . . . .	6,663,105
	<hr/>
Total . . . .	£17,423,178

## TRAFFIC PASSING THROUGH THE CANAL.

	<i>Tons.</i>
English vessels amounted to . . . . .	1,510,198
French „ „ . . . . .	835,345
Dutch „ „ . . . . .	101,031
Italian „ „ . . . . .	60,998
Austrian „ „ . . . . .	27,281
Russian „ „ . . . . .	16,627

Thus out of about 2,000,000 tonnage per annum, the proportions are :—

English, a little more than 1,500,000 tons.

All other nations a little less than 500,000 tons.

England thus contributing three-fourths of the entire tonnage.

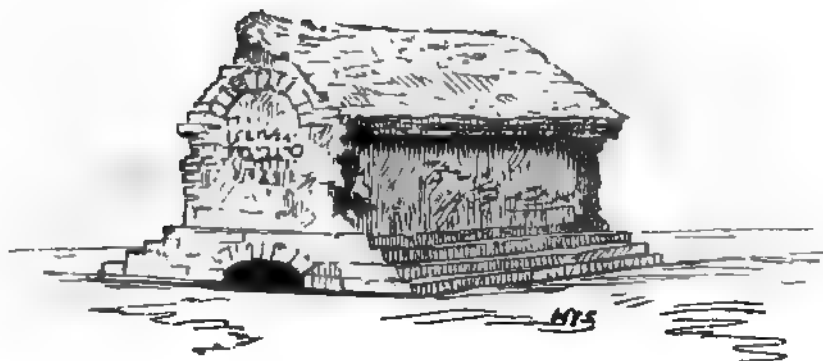
Plate XLIX. presents a view of Kantara. In the foreground is the landing-stage communicating with the ferry which conveys across the Canal caravans bound for Syria. It must have been at this point where the Virgin Mary and Joseph passed during their flight into Egypt. The tall machine at the landing-stage is one of the dredges used to keep the Canal at its proper depth. The string of steamers seen in diminishing perspective, presents a characteristic aspect of this all-important highway between the East and the West.

It is usually taken for granted that Port Said is a brand-new place, a sort of mushroom offshoot of the Suez Canal, but that is not the case; it existed under another name in Roman times, and I know not how long before. While here we visited a row of Roman tombs, a sketch of one of which I annex. They were found buried beneath a high mound formed by the *débris* of mud hovels on the neck of land that separates the lagoon from the Mediterranean. Several of them still contained skeletons at the time of our visit.

The structures are ten in number, all exactly alike. Behind them, on the shore of Lake Menzaleh, stand the earthworks occupied by one of Arabi's lieutenants during the rebellion. While strolling along the shores of Menzaleh, I observed that there was a difference in the Lake level of fully three feet, caused by the prevalence of strong winds acting upon the surface of the Mediterranean, with which it is connected; thus illustrating the chief incident of the Exodus. It must be remembered that its waters, including the Ballah lakes, reach nearly to the centre of the Isthmus to el-Ferdan,

within ten miles of Ismailia, and far beyond Kantara, where the ancient road to Syria crosses the string of lagoons. (See Plate LVI.)

But here the current of my reflections must be cut short, for the Messageries steamer, *Amazone*, destined to take us back to Europe, is already in sight, and I must be off to pack up and pay our bill at the *Niederland Hotel*. The time has come, therefore, when I am compelled with regret to take leave of my reader, who has accompanied me for many hundred miles through varied scenes. I trust our pilgrimage together, and our speculations on things ancient and modern, have not been barren of useful results or of mutual satisfaction.



Roman Tomb, Port Said.

THE END.









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